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**17 FEBRUARY 1987**

# **East Europe Report**



**FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE**

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17 FEBRUARY 1987

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

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## JAKES RECEIVES USSR'S PITOVVRANOV

AU161051 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jan 87 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)--Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Yevgeniy Pitovranov, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, who is paying a working visit to the CSSR, in Prague yesterday [14 January]. In a comradely, friendly chat they expressed their appreciation of the level of cooperation between the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the CSSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry, particularly when assisting with the development of mutual economic, scientific, and technological relations, with the establishment of direct relations among enterprises, and with the search for new possibilities of trade. The need for raising the two chambers' share in ensuring the Program of Economic and R&D Cooperation Between the CSSR and the USSR Up to the Year 2000 and the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member-States Up to the Year 2000 was also expressed. The reception was attended by Zbynek Soja, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department, and by Jaroslav Jakubec, chairman of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Oleg Lushnikov, councillor of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR, and Roald Piskoppel, head of the USSR Trade Representation in the CSSR, were also present.

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## JAKES PAYS VISIT TO CESKE BUDEJOVICE

AU161234 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[Text] Ceske Budejovice (CTK)—A regional party aktiv on working out the resolutions of the fourth session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the sixth session of the CPCZ Regional Committee, on the annual membership meetings and ensuring the tasks of the second year of the 5-year plan was held in Ceske Budejovice yesterday [13 January]. The deliberations were attended by Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The aktiv was opened by Miroslav Slavik, leading secretary of the CPCZ South Bohemian Regional Committee, who assessed the results of the region's economy to date and explained the tasks of the production sphere this year. At the same time he supplied information on the experience gained from the preparations of the annual CPCZ membership meetings.

In his speech, Milos Jakes addressed himself to some topical tasks of the party's economic policy. He noted the importance of the fulfillment of the quality indicators of production plans for the creation of national income. Even though the final balance sheet of the past year has not been closed yet, it shows at the moment that the midyear growth of the national income by 3.5 percent will not materialize. Until now discipline and order have not prevailed everywhere and this retards introducing science and technology into practice faster. Another momentous requirement is to improve the organization of work, eliminate instances of idling machinery and thus reduce the stocks of unfinished products. The search for and the elimination of the causes of these shortcomings, Milos Jakes said, requires an active approach and initiative on the part of the people. The initiative is not always of the desired standard, and the lack of smoothness in the rhythm of production, which breeds egalitarianism in remuneration, suits some people. But we must understand this differentiation as applying not only to individuals; differentiated remuneration of results will apply also to entire workshops, enterprises, and economic production units.

In order to ensure the strategic line of the 17th CPCZ Congress, the highest party agencies have been creating conditions for a more perfect evaluation, greater independence of enterprises, better assertion of our products on markets abroad, and more successful cooperation with the socialist states.

The principles for restructuring the CSSR economic mechanism are the beginning of our economy's new stage. The transition to enterprises' self-financing on the basis of khozraschet [economic accountability] begins. On the other hand, this, together with the management's greater independence, will also require responsibility toward the collective of fellow-workers [spolupracovníci].

This accentuates the role of party organizations, their control mission. The upcoming membership meetings must not become a narrow affair of organizations committees, but the affair of all members and ranking economic personnel. The meetings' informative nature must be transformed into creative discussions with concrete conclusions for individuals, collectives, technical and administrative formations.

During his working visit in the South Bohemian region, Milos Jakes, accompanied by Miroslav Slavik, leading secretary of the CPCZ south Bohemian Regional Committee, yesterday paid a visit to Sfinx Cexke Budejovice and Jihostroj Velesin. He chatted with members of the brigades of socialist labor, economic management, and representatives of party, trade union, and youth organizations. The working people of Jihostroj Velesin handed over to Milos Jakes the enterprise's socialist pledges adopted in honor of the 70th anniversary of Great October. They intend to exceed this year's plan of production by Kcs8 million, the index of adjusted value added by Kcs4.5 million, and improve the balance sheet of profit by Kcs1.5 million.

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## KAPEK DISSATISFIED WITH PRAGUE ENTERPRISES

AU221207 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[CTK interview with Antonin Kapek, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the CPCZ Prague City Committee: "The Growth of Effectiveness Still Does Not Have the Necessary Speed and Size"--in Prague, date not given]

[Excerpts] [CTK] Comrade Secretary, in the closing part of last year Prague industry literally waged a struggle to fulfill the plan or make up the shortfall in production. In what ways is the Prague city party organization richer at the beginning of 1987?

[Kapek] First of all, I would like to say that we highly value the endeavor which the working people of Prague enterprises expended at the close of last year in order that the results of the plan fulfillment would to the greatest possible extent correspond to the directive of the 17th CPCZ Congress. Thanks to the selflessness, to the attention which party agencies and organizations devoted to the problems of the plan, and to the efforts of managers, Prague industrial enterprises achieved a dynamism of production which was greater than planned. The volume of industrial production grew by 2.8 percent, of adjusted value added by 6.5 percent, and profits by 16.8 percent. Material costs were reduced, although not to the planned extent. Construction organizations, too, fulfilled fairly well the quantitative and qualitative indicators; we were especially pleased with the fulfilled plan in housing construction.

However, despite these positive results, it is necessary to openly note that the Prague industry as a whole did not achieve the planned adjusted value added and other qualitative indexes of the 5-year plan. The number of enterprises which were grappling with serious problems increased further. Some of them, despite all their efforts, did not fulfill the plan.

All this shows that the fundamental problem lies in the fact that the growth of effectiveness on the basis of intensification and the utilization of science and technology is still not being realized at the necessary speed and in the necessary extent. To this, one has to add the problems connected with the plan's quality. To put it concisely: enterprises, but their

superior agencies are also responsible for these shortcomings. We are not satisfied yet with the application of science and advanced new technologies in Prague enterprises. The proportion of products having a high technical-economic standard is only 10.9 percent of the entire production. The modernization programs of Prague enterprises--especially engineering enterprises--continue very slowly, and at times without convincing initiative.

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## GOVERNMENT APPROVES QUALITY CONTROL GUIDELINES

A0081414 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Dec 86 p 2

["Principles Aimed at Enhancing the Effectiveness of Product Quality Control"]

[Text] The CSSR Government has approved principles according to which--as of the beginning of 1987--the committees [vybory] of people's control will start checking product quality where it does not correspond to the prescribed norms and requirements of both the domestic and foreign markets.

The purpose of this check is to bring about a substantial turn in the quality of products, to strengthen work discipline and strictly observe technological procedures, to raise the effectiveness of the initial [vstupni], inter-operational, and final controls, as well as to effectively manage and control the production process in all its stages. The quality control is being introduced in organizations which produce and supply products important for export and the domestic market, and whose quality has deteriorated.

## Who Controls Quality and How

Within the framework of their activities, the CSSR, Czech SR, and Slovak SR, People's Control Committees are to carry out the quality controls following the final technical controls independently of each organization's management and control components and its superior agencies in accordance with the appropriate technical norms, design-construction and technological documentation, technical conditions of deliveries, and other regulations which determine quality. The control may also be carried out after the initial and interoperational technical control.

Products which fulfill their function, but whose quality deviates from the quality prescribed by norms, can be dispatched only with the assent of the committees of people's control with a discount corresponding to the relative depreciation [znehodnotenie] of the product, amounting to at least 10 percent of the wholesale price, and must be marked as products of lesser quality. They must not be exported abroad. The discounts are to be fully entered in the losses arising from poor-quality production.

Products which do not fulfill their function must not be dispatched. The costs connected with the rectification of quality faults are to be fully entered in the losses arising from poor-quality production. If the faults cannot be rectified, they are to be entered in the losses from poor-quality production in an amount equal to their wholesale price.

The quality control is to be carried out in an organization or, if necessary, in its superior agencies as long as the reasons which had led to the imposition of controls are not eliminated. The quality control is a special control regimen in the course of which the head of the organization and other ranking personnel who organize, manage, and are responsible for the quality of products, lose their entitlement to the payment of annual bonuses and their share arising from the economic results of the organization. This entitlement will be restored only with the assent of the committees of people's control.

#### Power of the Committees of People's Control in Controlling Quality

The committees of people's control are entitled:

--to suspend the dispatching and even the manufacture of products which do not correspond to the prescribed quality, or of products whose quality the manufacturer does not guarantee;

--after consultation with the appropriate ranking personnel, to reprimand or impose a reprimand with a fine amounting up to three times their average monthly wages on workers [pracovnici] of the controlled agencies and organizations who, in the course of carrying out their function, are guilty of infringement of duties in ensuring the quality of products, or who do not fulfill tasks entrusted to them or agreed upon as a result of quality control, or who do not take the necessary measures and thus make it possible for poor-quality products to be prepared for shipment;

--to regard instances of repeated release of poor-quality products as a gross infringement of state discipline, and to propose appropriate cadre measures;

--to demand from the head of a controlled organization and if necessary from other ranking personnel or its superior agency to adopt and implement without delay measures which would prevent the production of poor-quality products and ensure the application of personal sanctions against workers who, by infringing their work duties, caused production of poor quality products;

--to permit the production and shipment of products only when the manufacturer proves that he has eliminated the causes of their suspension and ensured that the products ready for shipment correspond to the prescribed quality or are capable of fulfilling their function;

--to demand from other agencies and organizations the necessary cooperation, particularly by freeing appropriate experts for quality control and providing the necessary control and measuring instruments;

--to impose on those workers of controlled organizations and agencies who do not create prerequisites for the control of quality in the course of



carrying out their function, fines up to Kcs1,000 and to do that even repeatedly, should they not fulfill the entrusted tasks within the newly set deadline;

—to immediately report to the agencies of the Prosecutor General's Office the violation of the ban on the shipment of suspended products, as well as any attempts to exert pressure on workers of the committees of people's control carrying out quality control.

#### **Duties of Economic Agencies and Organizations Toward Control Agencies**

The controlled organizations and their superior agencies have the duty to create conditions for carrying out quality control, in particular:

—to enable access to all objects and facilities and to present within determined deadlines the required documents, materials, and reports, and to supply truthful and complete reports and information, orally or in writing, about the quality of products;

— to submit within set deadlines the appropriate original documents and to make possible the obtaining of the products and their structural and other components to the required extent and at the required place.

—to prove that the products correspond to the prescribed quality and to provide control, measuring, and other instruments for the necessary period of time;

—within set deadlines, to eliminate the shortcomings ascertained in the quality of products and to draw personal consequences relating to their origin and continuation, including exacting compensation for losses;

—upon request, to provide further cooperation necessary for carrying out quality control, particularly equipped work sites, the necessary means of communication and transportation, office supplies, services necessary for carrying out work, accommodations, and other types of social housing [socialno-bytove] and medical services, and so forth.

Other [ostatne] agencies and organizations--in order to ensure quality control--have, in particular, the duty:

—to free workers required for carrying out quality control, and should such workers request it, to retain their job classifications in their organizations in the corresponding functions; in accordance with demands of the committees of people's control, to carry out expert tests, process evaluations of the quality of products, and provide further documentation;

—to simultaneously report to the committees of people's control shortcomings in the quality of all products exported abroad as well as of finished

products (or their most important subdeliveries) for domestic use and for satisfying the main needs of the population, and of other products which the committees of people's control shall determine; and in this to proceed from shortcomings ascertained in the course of the products being handed over, sold, used, or repaired, or during their evaluation, approval, certification, and control.

The quality controls carried out by the committees of people's control do not absolve manufacturers from responsibility for the quality of products, the providing of service, and the carrying out of efficient technical controls.

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## LENART REPORT TO CPSL CC SESSION

AU220801 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Dec 86 p 3

[Report by Jozef Lenart, first secretary of the KSS, to CPSL Central Committee session; date not given]

[Text] Honored Comrades!

The fourth session of the CPCZ Central Committee discussed the presidium report concerning foreign and domestic issues and the report on the Eighth 5-Year Plan of economic and social development. The report, delivered by Comrade Husak, sums up the first experiences in the implementation of the 17th CPCZ Congress general directions; it also evaluates the way party officials and organizations, and the Communists in state and social organizations approached the development and realization of the congress' decisions and the outcome of their implementation.

The purpose of our session is to make sure that such an evaluation of the fulfillment of directions of the 17th CPCZ Session and resolutions of the CPSL session, regarding conditions in the Slovak Socialist Republic, is carried out in the light of the conclusions arrived at in the CPCZ Central Committee.

Our CPSL Central Committee, together with the CPCZ Central Committee, approaches these discussions with an awareness of the momentous significance of the implementation of the 17th Congress [directions].

We know that the solution to pressing problems of progress in all areas of our society is tied to an acceleration of socioeconomic developments. It is now obvious that not only in the Soviet Union, and not only in our country but, as the congresses of our fraternal parties have shown, in all countries of the socialist community, the implementation of this strategic direction is unavoidable. That is because this wide-ranging trend is an expression of the aspirations of the current abrupt historical change. As Comrade Husak emphasized, this puts our problems in a broader context and provides us with new choices for their solution. Close interrelations of national and international factors enables us to join our efforts with those of the fraternal socialist countries and thus multiply our strength. And it is becoming ever more obvious, that on the successes of the socialist countries, on the unity,

strength, and influence of the entire socialist society depend the outcome of the competition between capitalism and socialism, the fate of socialism, peace, and the future of civilization and humanity.

**Comrades!**

The 17th CPCZ Congress charged us with the task of:

Accelerating the socioeconomic development of the society by means of an intensification of our national economy and all areas of our lives so as to ensure continued improvements in our standard of living. In this respect, we must utilize efficiently our land, production, and human potential in Slovakia and increase its share in the development of a united Czechoslovak economy. The main emphasis must be placed on significantly increasing the quality of products and innovations through a more vigorous utilization of science and technology, and on further intensifying socialist economic integration with long-range production plans.

Developing and intensifying socialist democracy and gradually implementing the elements of socialist self-rule as a condition of an ever more effective and fruitful participation of our citizens in management and administration, and of a universal activation of the human factor.

Improving the quality of ideological work and channelling its effects toward the achievement of a change in people's thinking, toward forming the new man as a deliberate manager and a committed citizen.

Increasing party efficiency, strengthening the vanguard role and mission of the Communists, and increasing the party's leading role in the society. And in this context, further improving the membership base and preparation of the cadres, consistent implementation of Leninist principles and standards, and improving the quality of work.

As a lasting attribute of socialism in our country, let us develop and intensify friendship, alliance, and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries. Let us contribute to the strengthening of their defensive union in the Warsaw Pact and to the expansion of cooperation in all areas.

In accord with the statement of the CPCZ Central Committee formulated by Comrade Husak, we can say that in the entire country as well as in Slovakia, we have taken the first steps in all these areas.

The Communists and all working people in Slovakia have adopted, and accept, the goals set by the congress as their own, and are actively implementing them. This was also affirmed by the course and results of general elections to the representative bodies, and is also confirmed by the working initiative which helped, and is helping us, in many instances to overcome problems in management, in planning, and in relations between suppliers and consumers. At the same time the demanding attitude of many working collectives is growing; they more frankly criticize the sluggish elimination of shortcomings and the examples of an irresponsible approach to things.



All this reflects the considerable organizational and political work of party agencies and organizations in explaining and realizing the congress resolutions. When elaborating the congress resolutions for their work, the regional and district committees have made an effort to approach problems in a businesslike and critical manner, seeking a way out of them. Their ability to implement the congress resolutions was enhanced by a detailed elaboration and realization of the resolution which was adopted by the Third CPCZ Central Committee Session on the further development and improvement of the membership base.

However, side by side with these positive aspects we must regrettably note that the effort exerted is not yet yielding the desired results. This is partly because not all party agencies and organizations have concretely worked out the congress line and given it an appropriate plan of action; because, to a certain extent, the explanation of new tasks resembles enlightening activity; and because in quite a number of instances people are waiting for some kind of additional impulse from the center.

Consequently, we are wasting time, and can also lose the credit won by the party in formulating a bold program of accelerating the society's socio-economic development—a program that is our only alternative, one which is linked by the people with the fulfillment of their interests and needs.

These weaknesses are linked to a certain lack of clear understanding of the congress line and of problems pointed out by the working people. The knowledge we have gained from party and trade union organizations, but also from the public opinion polls, shows that a considerable number of interviewed citizens believe that neither the measures for ensuring the 17th CPCZ and the CPSL Congress line, nor those for improving production and removing shortcomings, are sufficient. About half of the interviewed think that their initiatives, proposals, and recommendations are not receiving adequate support from the leading staffs and functionaries of party and social organizations. Many say that results are being prettied up at their workplaces, and that shortcomings are covered up; and they see great reserves in adherence to working discipline. We must seriously ponder these facts, learn from them, and draw appropriate conclusions from them.

Comrades, our efforts after the 17th CPCZ and the CPSL Congresses have contributed toward our achieving certain positive results in the national economy, above all in accomplishing quantitative tasks in industry, building industry, animal production, and the sphere of personal and social consumption.

Nevertheless, we are dissatisfied with our failure to fulfill the congress tasks in the qualitative parameters of development, and with the steadily deepening irregular task fulfillment, which is causing serious breakdowns, particularly in supplier-consumer relations. We know that this is not being discussed on appropriate management levels and with the necessary efficiency and sense of responsibility; this depreciates the weight and binding nature of the tasks. We must recall what the CPSL Congress stressed: That contracts must be used to establish conditions for raising the role of consumers in

defining technical standards, the range of products, their quality, and the deadlines of their deliveries.

We have no success in fully ensuring the tasks in reducing material intensiveness and the general cost intensity. We have not made sufficient progress in valorizing processes or in activating inventories and using them more rationally, although considerable financial and material means are lying idle there.

We have also not mastered the process of capital investment in harmony with the demands, and we have serious shortcomings here. We express strong dissatisfaction particularly with the belated conclusion of many socially significant construction projects, as well as with the lag in acquiring facilities and with the increasing number of unfinished construction projects. We see most serious problems in the realization of the investment plan in sectors belonging to the Ministry of Industry in the Slovak SR, in organizations of general and electric engineering, and in those of the pharmaceutical industry. The preferential nature of tasks at most significant construction sites is not being ensured: Even such important projects as the copper and brass foundry of the Povazske Engineering Works, the reconstruction of the power center in the Slavonske paper factory, the new CHIRANA plant in Humenne, the construction of the LIAZ II plant in Velky Krtis, and others, have not been commissioned for operations within the planned deadlines. Likewise, we are dissatisfied with the progress in building social facilities and those for medical care. It is irresponsible to prepare investment projects, where construction is to start within the next 2 years, in which design and technical-economic preparation are far worse than they were in the past. Such an approach by investors, designers, and suppliers shows their failure to grasp the categorical demand resulting from the strategy of acceleration. It is a serious matter that, so far, we have not created prerequisites for achieving parameters that could be compared with those of investors, suppliers, and producers in the developed world in an overwhelming majority of construction projects.

Therefore let us ask how we are actually accomplishing the task, outlined in the CPSL Congress resolution, of modernization and reconstruction—which we regard as basic for effectively applying scientific and technical knowledge to the national economy—in this particular sector? The answer is: Only very inadequately. The present state of affairs does not provide sufficient guarantees for the realization of structural and qualitative changes in the economy. It does not adequately support this.

At the CPSL Congress we set ourselves the task of ensuring that by 1990, 25 percent of our production consist of products of a high technical-economic level. We must critically concede that with the current low production rates we are falling behind with this goal. The overwhelming majority of the ministries, economic production units, enterprises, but also organizations of our research and development base, should self-critically ask themselves why they are not reacting with full understanding to the party's call. From this viewpoint the situation is worst in engineering and electric engineering, where only about 10 percent of the products are of a high technical-economic level.

In the Slovak SR more than 50 percent of products assessed are still of grade II quality. The losses resulting from poor quality are considerable.

The innovation activities of most ministerial departments, economic production units, enterprises, and research-and-development organizations do not correspond to the requirements for intensification. The percentage of innovations of higher orders [inovacie vyssich radov] is particularly low. At the same time we urgently need solutions that will lead to the creation of new generations of machinery and technologies. We have not yet stepped up our efforts sufficiently in this regard, nor have we made full use of economic tools or political influence. We also have considerable reserves here in the work of party organizations and appropriate regional party agencies.

In order to speed up progress, the 17th CPCZ and the CPSL Congresses defined the decisive trends of scientific-technical development, which are based on the needs of the international division of labor and on the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress. It is vitally important for us to realize these trends. However, this essential fact is not sufficiently reflected in the current approach to matters. So far the enterprises, research institutes, economic production units, and ministries have not been enterprising enough in seeking their place in this program or in making use of the possibilities for expedient specialization and cooperation in production, in spite of the fact that the CPSL Congress unambiguously stated that "no member of the executive staff can be considered a good worker if he has not grasped the purpose of the new measures contained in the Comprehensive Program; and if he does nothing, or only very little, for their realization in our own interests and in the interests of developing the entire socialist community."

The inadequate implementation of the required structural changes is causing problems on our domestic market. On the one hand, our production and our shops have large inventories of products in which people are not very interested, or not at all interested. On the other, we have a shortage of new products with high utility values which are much in demand. We hear justified complaints that demand for good-quality consumer goods, especially in electronics, but also household appliances and products for leisure use, is not satisfied. Criticism persists about the range and quality of food products that are desirable from the viewpoint of the population's rational and healthy nutrition. If we do not want to risk our citizens' trust and their working effort, we must radically improve the entire sphere of services to the population. The resolution of the Sixth CPCZ Central Committee Session is not being fulfilled; this provides fertile soil for the illegal activities of various groups and individuals, which often stand in conflict with social interests and do not create a healthy political atmosphere among the population.

However, every single one of us must realize that he is not merely a consumer with justified demands--in the spirit of demands corresponding to present world parameters--but simultaneously the creator of utility values and services for our citizens. The high demands must be reflected in everyday working activities.



We also have persistent shortcomings in relations between production and foreign trade, particularly in respect of exports to nonsocialist countries. Production is not flexible enough as regards ensuring the production of quality goods that are competitive. If we add to this the untapped reserves in commercial work, we cannot wonder at our failure to achieve desirable results as regards foreign exchange. This has a negative impact on the possibilities of important necessary equipment and materials for speeding up the innovation of technology and of commodities.

At the CPSL Congress we set ourselves the task of strikingly improving efficiency and profitability, and eliminating loss-making operations in the enterprises of branches and economic production units that are lagging. During the first 10 months of this year, there was a 13.3-percent increase in the profit achieved by economic organizations in the Slovak SR. Since many enterprises are still working at a loss, the actual growth in profit determined by the plan is not being achieved, making it unambiguously clear that the task of working out and realizing programs for improving performance and efficiency is not being consistently fulfilled.

The economic results confirm that the economic mechanism is not yet exerting sufficient pressure to ensure the removal of our most serious problems. We know from experience that our economic managers are also contributing a great deal to the delay in solving persistent shortcomings. This is clear from their style of work, the way they stick to what is familiar and the way they are extremely cautious about covering themselves when they make decisions.

The intra-enterprise management of many organizations is not making sufficient use of such tools as calculations and budgets. Quality standards are low and little use is made of analyses and studies. Management does not sufficiently appreciate the value of these significant economic tools, which bear signs of bureaucracy and formalism. The result is serious shortcomings in the decisionmaking process, although the standards of this process determine the enhancement of efficiency in management work and also the economic results. Our collectives often do not know at what price they are producing, and with what efficiency. If this is so, then how can we consistently implement the socialist principle of remuneration? We cannot! This is also why unhealthy levelling trends and disorder in the norms base persist. The introduction of the progressive brigade form of labor organization and remuneration is also encountering difficulties.

These facts limit the initiative of the working people, and prevent them from more actively participating in the creation and realization of the plan, and in counterplanning, which we regard as one of the sources of a progressive approach to accelerating development. Not only that, we often see formalism guiding the working people's initiative, which is not adequately directed toward decisive tasks in the plan and the bottlenecks fraught with risk. The only tasks that are performed on the basis of initiative are those that follow from self-evident obligations and duties; and problems in nonfulfillment enterprises persist.



The shortcomings preventing a more decisive drive for the realization of the line of acceleration are, in their final effect, affecting the achievement of our goals in creating national income through qualitative changes in economic development. The shortcomings are strikingly diminishing our results as regards creating resources, which we could use for further developing our national economy, as well as for investing, modernizing, improving the citizens' living standards, and better satisfying their social needs.

Comrades, in the interests of improving the efficiency of the management of our national economy, the 17th CPCZ and the CPSL Congresses formulated the task of substantially improving organization, order, and discipline, and of consolidating the protection of socialist ownership and ensuring socialist legality.

Although we made a considerable effort in this sphere, we cannot be at all satisfied with the overall result. It must be said that, because the economic agencies did not make enough checks and because the principle "he who manages, also checks" was only half-heartedly observed, there were violations of discipline, actual results were distorted, undeserved income was achieved without work, and there were thefts of socialist property as a result of various speculations. This occurred, for example, in the SES enterprise in Tlmace, in the East Slovak Iron Works in Kosice, in the DREVINA enterprise in Turany, in the ELECTROVOD enterprise in Bratislava, and elsewhere. We know of quite a number of cases of manipulation of fictitious inventories, when goods have not left the works premises, and also of billing for work and services never performed.

The number of direct thefts of common property is also growing, and leading to extremely high deficits and damages. This occurred in particular in the ZDROJ, OTEX, JEDNOTA, and PRIOR trade organizations.

It is a serious matter that citizens are repeatedly subject to theft and damage during shopping hours and in the course of receiving services.

We are finding that, as a result of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's Letter, the working people's critical and unappeasable attitude to such negative, harmful phenomena is mostly growing; and that the people are more resolutely opposing cases of swindling, bribery, and protectionism. We appreciate the meritorious work of the people's control committees and members of our National Security Corps in combating such phenomena more effectively. Nevertheless, we are concerned about the agencies involved in prosecuting such cases. They are taking too long to resolve the spectacular cases of thieving gangs in particular. This evokes criticism from the public and creates the impression that somebody is covering up for them. It seriously impairs the working people's trust and the party's authority. For this reason the CPSL Central Committee Presidium has appealed to the Communists in the appropriate agencies to resolutely rectify this situation as soon as possible. We demand that all party agencies and organizations take their place at the head of this struggle, in the spirit of the congress, and that they make more of an effort in the sphere of socialist legality.

Esteemed comrades, in evaluating the results achieved to date in realizing the line of the 17th CPCZ and the CPSL Congresses, and enriched by new experience, we can sum up the current approaches as follows:

Some party functionaries and staff in the management sector have succumbed to complacency and inertia. The difficulties stemming from the novelty of the tasks discourage and demobilize them, instead of acting as a stimulating and mobilizing agent. Our society also has people fettered by hopelessness and nihilism, people who spread skepticism and claim, in harmony with the class adversary, that socialism is incapable of solving high-quality tasks yielding high effects. But after all we also have a healthy critical stream aimed at finding a way out, one which follows up all our positive achievements and creatively searches for, and finds the way forward--a stream fighting for this way and following it under the new conditions. It is exactly this stream which is the activating component in the realization of the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ and the CPSL Congresses. Those who make up this stream can be found among the increasing number of collectives and individuals, workers, technicians, executives, researchers, innovators, and improvers. It is the duty of our party, state, and economic agencies and social organizations to do all they can to radically strengthen this particular stream and enable it to prevail both in the economy and in our whole life.

Comrades, we insist that the strategic line of acceleration, as formulated by the 17th CPCZ and CPSL Congresses, must be fully expressed in the realization of tasks of the Fifth 5-Year Plan. We are aware of our duty to the party and our people, but also to the entire socialist community. That is also why we must achieve a 4.2-4.5-percent annual growth of national income in Slovakia, bearing in mind the needs of society and the possibilities of our economy. This figure for growth is higher than the figure of 3.5-percent for growth statewide, and double the growth of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. We can only achieve this goal through basic qualitative changes which must yield substantially higher results. This is the only way to improve living standards, to give them new quality, develop production by modernizing and restructuring it, raise the prestige of socialism in our own country and in the world, and also ensure our defense ability in the interests of world peace.

The CPSL Central Committee and the Government of the Slovak SR have directed our attention to preparing the Eighth 5-Year Plan well. Already in 1985 treatises were worked out on the trends needed for developing the national economy in Slovakia and its individual regions. The purpose was to activate the CPSL regional and district conferences and annual members' meetings in plant organizations so as to promote the use of resources for creating a higher national income.

The CPSL Central Committee Presidium carefully assessed the draft Eighth 5-Year Plan on several occasions, particularly in July 1986; meanwhile the plan has been broken down into its parts for enterprises and organizations. The plan's goals and tasks are expressed in the law on the Eighth 5-Year Plan, which is to be approved by the Slovak National Council.

Comrade Bahyl will be speaking in greater detail about ensuring the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the state executive plan for 1987. I want to direct your attention to certain key tasks and problems, the immediate solution of which is decisive for achieving the goals of the long-term strategic line of accelerating socioeconomic development in Slovakia.

The fact that the tasks, deadlines, and norms of the state executive plan for 1987 have been determined in advance together with the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan is of particular significance for the work of enterprise collectives and individual management links; it is also a significant step toward successfully realizing the plan, starting with the beginning of next year. We must realize that the exacting nature of the plan will be intensified, particularly in organizations which did not cope with this year's tasks. And we have a lot of such organizations.

Progress in socioeconomic development requires an uncompromising struggle for a steady improvement of all social processes. This is no new demand. It is every Communist's primary task and duty to implement the substantial qualitative changes in practice. The dynamics of our further development depend on our coping with these tasks.

We insistently demand that the Communists, responsible executives at different levels of management, and also all working people abandon the extensive approach, which has become outdated, and be more courageous and flexible about asserting unconventional, progressive forms when they are ensuring the tasks in everyday work.

We consider improvement of the quality of products and of production to be particularly decisive for our further advancement. Life itself has placed this task at the focus of the current reconstruction. The urgent need to solve it sharply confronts the entire socialist community. The result of our competition with capitalism will depend on successfully solving it. We are joining the great struggle waged in this sphere by the Soviet Communists. I would like to recall here the words of Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the conference on questions of introducing state acceptance of production in the associations and enterprises of industrial ministries: "The saturation of the market with products that show high technical standards and good-quality consumer goods is the main sign of a progressive, flourishing economy; on the other hand, low quality and bad and irresponsible work are a most dangerous squandering of social work and of material-technical resources, as well as of all our national riches. The people's moods and their attitude toward all processes in the country stem from this." So that is why we in Slovakia justly and uncompromisingly demand the more emphatic implementation of this urgent task.

Appropriate executive staff, party organizations, and all Communists must ponder this state of affairs more seriously and earnestly. The smooth surface of low demands, of unhealthy complacency, marking time, and an almost opportunistic lack of principle and concern must be disturbed as soon as possible. The logical and urgent question is: If, for instance, quality stands in the foreground of the comrades' interests in the CHENKO plant in



Strazske, the LYKOV textile works in Revuca, in the Central Slovak Poultry Plant in Zvolen, in the Bridge Building Works in Brezno, in the Georgi Dimitrov Chemical Works in Bratislava, in the Heavy Engineering Works in Komarno, in the DUSLA plant in Sala, or elsewhere, then why should this not be the case everywhere? It is within our power and it is also our duty to achieve good results in every organization.

Proceeding from the 17th CPCZ Congress Resolution and in cooperation with other central agencies, the Federal Commission for Research and Development and Investment Planning is preparing comprehensive measures for setting up a new state system, which will be verified in the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, for ensuring the quality of production. The basic changes of the measures envisaged by the system are aimed at strengthening the role of planning and quality control and at progressively cutting down losses due to bad-quality production, including strict fines with impacts on the enterprise funds. Cadre and disciplinary sanctions will be applied, especially for bad-quality production.

We demand that the executive staff lead the working people toward the production of goods and technologies that are comparable to world norms and parameters in the most progressive trends of scientific-technical development.

This process cannot be delayed any longer, because otherwise our lag behind the rest of the world will increase, and this could have serious consequences for us. It is high time for Communist executives to view the urgency of the situation seriously and responsibly.

What we want is realistic. But we must realize that we cannot successfully fulfill the congress' tasks in a given sphere and look into the future with optimism on our own--we can do this mainly by emphatically intensifying cooperation with the CEMA member-countries.

As was stressed by Comrade Gustav Husak at the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Session, the scope for joining forces was substantially widened following the conference of top representatives of the member-countries in November 1986 in Moscow, and following the 42d CEMA Session in Bucharest. We must also draw unambiguous conclusions from their contents for our own work in Slovakia, conclusions which will lead us to actively join the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Member-Countries which is the starting point for raising the efficiency of the international socialist integration.

In order to carry out integration in a new way we must develop a more enterprising attitude in establishing direct production and scientific-technical relations; we must set up joint enterprises, associations, and solution collectives with the member-countries, and the USSR in particular, so as to realize cooperation and specialization from research to production, and so as to make them yield results for the development of our national economy and of the socialist community. So far we have taken only the first steps toward this in Slovakia. As a positive example one can quote such



enterprises as the Heavy Engineering Works in Martin and Detva, the ZVL plant in Povazska Bystrica, the CHIRANA plant in Stara Tura, the TESLA works in Bratislava, the VUKOV works in Presov, the Computer Technology Research Institute in Zilina, or the Animal Production Research Institute in Nitra. Other organizations, too, must make use of the opportunities provided by the new rules which were approved by the top government agencies of the CSSR and the USSR.

The implementation of the priority trends that follow for us from the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress is the decisive criterion of our development. The structure of the scientific-technical base and the orientation of capital construction must be adjusted to this; we must have a greater concentration of forces and means, which would lead to high technical-economic parameters with world standards.

This is the only way to speed up the introduction of electronics and to develop automation, robotization, nuclear power engineering, biotechnologies, and new materials. In introducing electronics we mainly have in mind the need to master computer and microprocessor technologies and to cope with electronics' spare-parts base—the limiting prerequisites of directing technological and production processes; to gradually introduce flexible automated production systems and the automation of work in the preproduction sectors; and, last but not least, to satisfy the population's needs for consumer electronics. We recall again that it is the duty of Communists and party organizations, both in the electronics industry and in engineering, but also in other sectors, to push more energetically for timely and well-thought-out solutions with high standards; and to be more insistent in demanding them from the executive staff.

For a long time we have been concentrating considerable effort on developing nuclear power engineering. Here, too, we must cope better with all tasks connected with the preparation and construction of nuclear power plants; we must be more flexible in coping with shortcomings; and we must operationally remove the obstacles that threaten the timely commissioning of plants for operations. At the same time we must achieve high quality in construction and in the technology deliveries, and a high level of safety in operations. We demand that all interested people, including those in research and development, fully respect the facts mentioned above.

It is necessary to develop on a far broader basis the results attained in biological technologies, and to make better use of them. The increasing standards of genetic engineering and microbiological syntheses must be further oriented toward this, for this will be of considerable significance for many spheres of our life—from medical care to agriculture, and to individual branches of our industry.

Our development rate will increasingly depend on the utilization of our domestic raw materials and on the structure and quality of materials. For instance, we must make better use of valuable materials such as magnesite, aluminum, and also raw timber for the production of high-quality paper. We must also turn our attention to developing the production of industrial

ceramics and of materials with predetermined characteristics, of metal compounds, silicates, various plastics, and polymers. Work must be activated in the processing and use of high purity gallium arsenide and silicon for the needs of electric engineering. This also applies to fine organic synthesis as the basis for obtaining medicinal substances and consumer chemistry products.

By promoting these progressive trends, which are being resolved within the framework of CEMA's comprehensive program, we in the Slovak SR will be given an irreplaceable opportunity to achieve a substantial turn in intensification and to raise Slovakia's contribution to accelerating the CSSR's socioeconomic development.

The CPSL Central Committee demands that the Communists in the State Planning Commission, the Federal Commission for Research and Development and Investment Planning, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the institutions of higher learning, and the branch and section [prierezove] ministries enforce these trends and implement them in the work on prognoses and preparations for the long-term plan. In this sense it is necessary to topicalize and finalize the state executive programs already during the years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, so as to establish good foundations for raising efficiency.

If we want to resolve these demanding tasks successfully, we must find ways of beginning to improve the investment process. This process continues to show the same long-lasting problems: bad preparation, belated completion, failure to reach planned parameters, overstepping of budgeted costs, low standards of techniques and technologies. For this reason we recommend that attention be given to Belorussia's experience, and the use of this experience. One of the important Belorussian principles is that budget costs of construction and assembly work are fixed at the earliest stage of blue-printing and are considered virtually unchangeable. The economic tools stimulate the completion of turnkey facilities within the agreed deadlines. What is new is the emphasis placed on applying the principles of interest in cutting down budget costs, and that payments for individual construction phases are replaced by payments only for completed facilities. Until then the appropriate organizations may draw on loans. If the construction time is dramatically shortened, the enterprise funds of suppliers and investors can acquire considerable financial advantages for social programs, and also for individuals.

The Belorussian experience unambiguously confirms that the responsibility of all participants in the investment process for a good-quality and timely completion of tasks on specific projects has grown. The cooperation and coordination among designers, suppliers, and investors has substantially improved.

We believe that this experiment could significantly help us to solve many long-lasting problems in our country. That is why we want to turn the attention of the Government of the Slovak SR, of the appropriate ministries, and of regional national committees toward making an analysis of the possibilities of applying the experiment, above all to the key construction

projects which we are now, or will be, realizing in the coming period. We mean, for instance, such projects as the HYDROKRAK project, the production of sulfenax in the Georgi Dimitrov Chemical Works in Bratislava, the inhibitor in the DUSLA works in Sala, and the system of hydroelectric projects on the Danube and so forth.

In the way it was set down by the CPSL Congress Resolution, the construction of new facilities must go hand in hand with a better use of shift intensity in newer, more progressive facilities, and with its intensification, as well as with a speedier realization of programs for liquidating outdated production funds.

The rapid development of the industry and of agricultural production, and also of the construction of cities and communities in Slovakia in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, confronts us most urgently with the task of solving the problems of ecology more flexibly and consistently. The supplies of drinking water to the population are currently demanding attention in a particularly alarming way. Decisive ecological projects cannot be brushed aside any longer. The means set aside for them in the Eighth 5-Year Plan must be purposefully used, the construction projects must be thoroughly prepared and realized in time.

In the interests of achieving higher final effects, our management and our entire economic sphere must start working with state and economic plans, with economic accountability [khozrashchet], so as to unambiguously establish, push through, and stimulate efficiency. It is extremely important to influence through the plans the elimination of losses in enterprises and in production; and to succeed in establishing a situation in which the organizations in Slovakia would increasingly acquire an economic accountability independence and enhance their reproduction ability. Efforts for a total economic accountability cannot remain mere propaganda. The enterprises and economic production units must improve intra-enterprise management and establish conditions for its dynamic functioning. This is all the more urgent, since in future they will have to go over to the self-financing system. The appropriate ministries and central agencies will also have to establish prerequisites for this.

Within the framework of raising responsibility and independence of economic organizations for the satisfaction of national economy needs, extraordinary attention must be devoted to consolidating the status of economic contracts and to the tasks of supplier-customer relations. All management levels must strive to base contract fulfillment primarily on the material interests, which support both timely deliveries and their range and quality, and also adherence to real costs. The economic accountability system must become dependent on the fulfillment of delivery duties.

In the interests of achieving a dramatic growth in efficiency, we must make better use of the other economic tools, and implement a system of levies and taxes which would not only passively distribute the financial resources, but also actively stimulate their increased creation. In other words, we must strive to carry out a gradual and consistent restructuring of the economic mechanism in the way this was stressed at the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee



Session. Important tasks have resulted from this for us too--tasks in the qualified creation and mastery of new principles and in the purposeful preparation of management cadres and working collectives for the demanding conditions. It is in this direction that we must immediately act.

In the present period work is already under way to prepare the comprehensive program documents; at the same time we are preparing the experiments for testing the principles that have been adopted on gradually restructuring the economic mechanism in selected economic organizations of the processing industry. We are concerned with testing the ways to substantially increase the organizations' economic independence and the care they devote to effective development; and to implement the full responsibility of organizations carrying out the experiments for scientific-technical progress, capital construction (particularly modernization), innovation of products, development of wages, and the social development of collectives through the implementation of the merit principle.

We are also verifying a new method now of linking our organizations with external economic relations, and studying forms of organizational and economic production links with foreign and domestic trade. The purpose here is to satisfy the customers' needs; to rationalize the path taken by goods from producer to customer; and to carry out wholesale pricing according to the movements of world markets, but also under the impact of customers' assessments and views.

We see the deep and truly revolutionary purpose of the principles both of the experiment and of the principles involved in restructuring in the conceptual, programmatic, flexible, and accelerating qualities which must dominate in production, as well as in the social relations of brigades, of collectives in interenterprise divisions, in preproduction phases, and in all management links.

The economic production units selected for the experimental testing program are the Heavy Engineering Works in Martin and the OGAKO in Partizanske; the enterprises selected for this are the 1 May Rubber Works in Puchov; PLASTIKA in Nitra; TATRASVIT in Svit; Slovak Technical Glass in Bratislava; GRAFOBAL in Skalica; United Glass Works in Lednicke Rovne; and Captain Nalepka Garment Works in Presov. Naturally, it is not merely a matter of their passing the test of the demanding criteria of norms relations with the state, and of full economic accountability on enterprise level; they must also really develop their enterprise economy into precise systems and into an effort to achieve scientific-technical, economic, and social progress. True, this must be done with a knowledge of goals, and by making every task and function specific, so that nothing is anonymous or formal, and nothing is left as it was or forgotten, but so that everything is permeated by creative work and by the endeavor to achieve maximum results and to be as responsible as a good manager should be.

We want these experiments to be thoroughly prepared with the participation of both the selected organizations and all people along the vertical management lines of economic and state agencies. We demand that the CPSL's plant



organizations and the Communists in appropriate positions stand at the head of this process and influence the successful realization of the experience by their work.

We can reach our goals to improve living standards only if we fulfill the tasks set on the basis of the strategy of acceleration. The law governing this says that only created resources can be used for personal and social consumption and for the further development of economy. We must realize that everybody must earn his share only by working well and honorably himself.

Comrades, the successful realization of the congress line demands that we activate further the broad strata of the working people, make fuller use of their interests, and utilize their experience and creative abilities. That is why the congress justly stressed that the development of socialist democracy and the gradual application of the elements of socialist self-administration is the prerequisite of speeding up the society's socioeconomic advancement.

We must demandingly assess the functioning of the political system and the improvement of the work accomplished by national committees and social organizations from this viewpoint. We can state that most newly elected national committees on all levels have taken up their work with initiative; and that their members are showing the will and determination to accomplish a lot, and to fulfill the election programs. Having learned from experience, and in the interests of the above, they must make fuller use of their authority and of their expanded powers in management and in influencing life in their areas; and in particular they must be more efficient in resolving the problems worrying our people in their everyday life—in trade, services, housing maintenance, public order, and also mutual coexistence. We urgently remind everyone that all operations of the national committees—both in their contents and in working methods—must be permeated by the awareness that they are agencies of the people, and are the largest mass-based working people's organizations. This means that we must be more resolute in overcoming formality, bureaucracy, and insensitive approaches which alienate these agencies from the people and their needs.

The upsurge of activity is obvious and apparent in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH), in the Socialist Youth Union (SSM), and in other social organizations of the National Front. We respect the National Front's identification with the formulated program and goals; its individual organizations have projected them into their own activity. And we expect them to make their specific contribution to its fulfillment in the interests of the entire society, in the interests of the society's further upsurge. The prerequisite of this is an attentive and sensitive attitude toward the people, a correct reaction to their views, the utilization of their suggestions, and the settling of their complaints.

Comrades, we realize that the successful accomplishment of the tasks we are talking about and the acceleration of socioeconomic progress categorically demand that we raise the party's work—as that of the leading force in

society--to the level of the needs of our times. We must frankly convey--and this is confirmed by many facts--that the spirit and demands of the congress have not yet fully penetrated our approaches, our knowledge, or the quality of our solutions and the efficiency of realizing them. This applies to the work of the CPSL Central Committee, down to regional and district organizations, and to every primary party organization. That is why we can witness many instances of low demands, superficiality, inconsistency, and conciliatory attitudes, as well as an unwillingness to overcome inertia and resolve problems creatively, endeavors to present wishes as facts and to embellish matters. This testifies that so far neither criticism nor self-criticism have acquired the right of abode that they should have in our country. Both the CPSL Central Committee and the lower party agencies have recently been dealing with many instances of responsible functionaries' violating party statutes and disparaging the good name of Communists, and appropriate conclusions had to be drawn with respect to these functionaries. Just let us recall, for instance, a congress demand such as frankness in behavior, truthful evaluation of situations, or the rendering of accounts by party agencies and Communists on the work achieved by them. Although we can note a certain movement here, from the viewpoint of the new demands set for party work it must nevertheless be said that we cannot be satisfied with the present state of affairs. Although meetings and sessions are held, the problems are not resolved. We must orient the implementation of the right to verify and the rendering of accounts by management staff not only toward the fulfillment of tasks and duties at work, but also toward improving the style of work and toward appraising the staff's contribution to the realization of the party's policy.

At our last session we also demanded that the current comprehensive evaluation of cadres reflect the high demands set by the strategy of acceleration: namely, creativity, professional maturity, adherence to political principles, and an energetic accomplishment of tasks. Although the comprehensive evaluation of cadres represents a certain shift toward a demanding attitude, it still does not properly reflect the demands of the times. We see unjustified tolerance of the cadres' shortcomings; evaluations are not commensurate with the results achieved in the work of collectives guided by executive staff. In November 1986 the CPSL Central Committee Presidium discussed the situation with respect to raising the qualifications of executive staffs, and stated that training here does not correspond to the needs. It instructed the Communists in the government to speedily rectify this situation. The entire system of raising the executive staff's qualifications must far more emphatically aid the ensurance of pivotal tasks which follow from the program for the development of CEMA countries.

Furthermore, it must be said that the power and influence of Communists are not adequately felt in workplaces and in everyday life; the many shortcomings and abuses testify to this. In struggling to realize the congress line in particular, we are mastering and fulfilling only very slowly the demands of party statutes to be exemplary at work, to multiply and guard socialist ownership, to strive to develop production forces, to increase labor productivity and thriftiness, to improve quality, to be a pioneer of all that is progressive, to fight for social justice, and to be modest, truthful, and

honorable. A most urgent task is to make party work correspond to the demands of the times; in a sense it is the main link in the chain which we must grasp in order to achieve a change in our fulfillment of the congress goals. Yes, the party in particular is and must be the force which inspires and leads us toward switching the points everywhere—toward fully overcoming inertia and enforcing new approaches and methods. With this resolve and thought in mind, we must prepare the annual members' meetings so well that they greatly mobilize the entire party, every primary organization, and every Communist to fulfill the task.

Our propaganda and agitation, our mass information and propaganda media, our entire ideological front has accomplished and is accomplishing meritorious work in acquainting the Communists and the entire public with the ideas of the congress, so as to make them their own ideas, so as to make them consciously turn these ideas into reality. In future our efforts must be aimed at achieving a change in the people's thought and acting on, so that the congress ideas become a material force expressed in deeds. In pursuing this, we in Slovakia must proceed from the realization that the country's industrialization, which was prevailingly carried out by extensive methods and which has brought us great successes, has also left deep traces in the minds of management cadres and of the broad strata of working people—traces which operate as a kind of psychological barrier on the path of intensification. We must see this; and thus we must exert a far more conscious and purposeful influence, so as to overcome these opinions and approaches and so as to shape the new consciousness very actively. It is particularly with this in mind that we must support the aggressive and efficient daily struggle that is waged in the fight for intensification in our factories, cooperatives, and research, educational, and upbringing institutions. Our ideological front must participate with the full weight of its influence in enforcing the socialist principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of accomplished work—the principle of remuneration for a certain feat, for the final result—in order to consolidate the feeling of awareness that the working people are really good economists [hospodari]; at the same time it must popularize examples of revolutionary practice which show us the true road and which are worthy of being followed, acquainting the people more efficiently with them, and with a proper knowledge of the matter. Briefly, here, too, we are concerned with achieving higher quality, as demanded by the congress, but also with achieving higher efficiency and better results in all our activity.

In the way the CPCZ Central Committee did in Comrade Husak's address, in this context too we want to positively appraise the work carried out in explaining and implementing congress resolutions by our mass information and propaganda media, and by our PRAVDA in particular. We realize that they play an irreplaceable role in the escalating struggle for a successful achievement of the set goals; this makes it necessary to systematically raise the professional-political standards of journalists, to work with a deep knowledge of problems, and to carry out this mission in the awareness of the impact of this activity and of great responsibility for the success of our common cause. In the realization of congress resolutions, it is necessary to approach the popularization and expansion of good experience from this



viewpoint, and at the same time one must apply constructive criticism, which is the essential condition of the vital life of the party and society and of society's advancement. We all must realize this; the people criticized must also proceed from this, they must react to criticism correctly, they must learn from it and draw appropriate conclusions. Naturally, the public, too, has a right to know about the steps taken to correct mistakes and shortcomings. This is not merely a matter of elementary decency, it is also a social, a party duty.

We can state that the congress resolutions have also found in the spheres of our culture, arts, and education to be receptive. In these sectors, too, the congress resolutions have begun to be implemented in a businesslike and specific manner, and they are beginning to be realized. We know that the CPSL Congress has formulated exacting tasks for our school system, and particularly for our institutions of higher learning, in harmony with the reality and the new needs. We justly expect that particularly the Communists in this sector will act in a way that will do justice to the formulated tasks.

Social sciences hold a significant place in our effort to achieve a turn in the people's thinking and acting, in the attitude toward the urgent tasks of today. The activation of the theoretical front is, as Comrade Gorbachev said, an inseparable part of our strategy and an urgent objective social need. The fact is, that our notions about the dialectics of production forces and production relations, about socialist ownership, cooperatives, the people's self-administration, and democracy, about the development of social awareness, about the causes and methods of overcoming negative phenomena, and about many other things, all demand that we enrich them with the facts of our present life. Without fulfilling this demand it is impossible to implement and bring the main factor into the game, that is, the human factor! Currently the main task of our social sciences is to contribute more effectively to long-term prognoses for society's development and of the party's scientific policy; to aid the kind of training of executives, scientists, and experts which would enable them to creatively approach the solution of tasks and to orient themselves correctly in today's complicated world after mastering dialectic-materialistic methods; and to shape the spiritual traits of a personality in the socialist society, its active civic attitude, and its practical behavior. From this viewpoint, the demands placed on the party position of scientists are also enhanced. The main thing is that they must not succumb to stereotype work and to set opinions but, rather, must be capable of scientifically substantiating the current changes in society; they must have the courage to voice new views which will lead to the consolidation of socialism in practice. The activation of the theoretical front also envisages improvement of the quality of research work and the consolidation of the dialectical links between theory with practice.

The party organizations and Communists in the central agencies have extraordinary responsibility for the realization of the resolutions adopted by the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Session. A more rapid solution of problems and elimination of shortcomings decisively depends on them, so that—having



learned from the experience of this year--we can act more resolutely and efficiently.

For this reason the CPSL Central Committee demands that the Communists in the Government of the Slovak SR lead the ministerial branches toward consistently ensuring the planned creation of national income, toward fulfilling the adopted programs, and toward implementing, in an exacting manner, forms and methods of work which will directly aid the acceleration of socioeconomic development in the Slovak SR, that they raise the standards of control and do not permit undesirable deviations, any postponement of task fulfillment, or a dilatory solution of serious material problems; that they establish conditions in the Slovak SR's economy which would make possible a smooth transition to implementing the gradual restructuring of the economic mechanism; and that they see to the consistent preparation of investment projects and to their timely commissioning for operations, in the interest of modernizing the branches in Slovakia and of reorganizing their structure. Furthermore, the Central Committee also demands that they stand at the head of the process of linking Slovakia more fully with the socialist economic integration. Coupled with the long-term program for developing the international socialist division of labor in the Slovak SR as well, the ministerial departments, together with the Slovak Academy of Sciences, must intensify work on the prognoses for development and on a long-term outlook.

We demand that the Communists in the Slovak Planning Commission stand at the head of the gradual reorganization of the economic mechanism in the Slovak SR; that, in collaboration with the appropriate ministerial departments and economic production units, they ensure that quality is improved in the planning process; and that they ensure the enforcement of the target and programmatic approach and of projects connected with it, which must be the main agents of the acceleration of our socioeconomic development. Long-term, conceptual, interlinked and comprehensive views must become the main methods of our planning work.

We demand that the Communists in the Slovak Commission for Research and Development and Investment Planning ensure that the commission, as the administrator of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress, and in close cooperation with the Slovak Planning Commission, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and the appropriate ministerial departments, actively direct and coordinate the wider participation of Slovak SR organizations in the program, so as to form specialization and cooperation relations from research up to production, and so as to achieve the desirable effects. In harmony with this, it is essential to adjust the research and development base so as to concentrate its forces and means on solving decisive tasks. With the aid of the state plan for scientific-technical development, we must strive to enforce high innovation standards and the high quality of products and technologies. With the aid of more exacting expert activity, we must influence the achievement of technical-economic parameters in the investment process which are comparable with the progressive parameters in the world.

We demand that the Communists in the branch ministries make use of all accessible effective possibilities of linking Slovakia with solving and

realizing the tasks of the Comprehensive Program, and that they show greater courage in establishing direct production and scientific-technical relations and in setting up joint enterprises, places that work out solutions and associations.

We must take pains to succeed in having the party's growing action ability manifest itself in everyday work among the masses, in convincing the masses, and in winning them over to the achievement of common goals. The preparation of the congresses of ROH, SSM, and of other social organizations provides a great opportunity for this. We expect the Communists in the trade unions to endeavor, by their example and their political-educational and organizational work, to strikingly strengthen the working people's awareness of their being the real masters and administrators of our common property. In the interests of achieving this, they must more resolutely support the implementation of the principle of remuneration according to quantity and quality of accomplished work, and aid the consolidation of discipline everywhere, involving every person. It is necessary to make use of their great political potential and experience in order to develop the socialist competition in a way that corresponds to the needs of our times, and which would yield striking results in terms of quality, efficiency, and profitability.

Similarly, we demand that the Communists in the youth union make a clearer contribution to the fulfillment of the congress line. We are convinced that they will show greater initiative in stimulating the young people's interest in mastering and applying modern technology and techniques and in making use of, and developing, electronics in their workplaces, schools, and apprentices workshops. In this context I want to tell you that, apart from other projects, we are building such significant and--in their impact--historic facilities as the hydropower stations on the Danube. Is this not a great opportunity, a wonderful chance for young people to prove their enthusiasm, their interest, talents, efficiency, and attitude to their fatherland? We talked this matter over with the comrades in the leadership of the youth union; and we appeal to them from this rostrum, too.

I would like to stress that--in the interests of the successful fulfillment of the tasks--the CPSL Central Committee Presidium is increasing the demands placed on the political-organizational, cadre, and auditing work of Central Committee departments, and in particular on their requiring the consistent fulfillment of the great and demanding tasks of the present in the spirit of the appeal of the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee Session. We will do all we can to cope successfully with today's tasks--in the same way we have coped with the demanding tasks of industrialization, collectivization, and the cultural upsurge of Slovakia--thus contributing to the development of the fatherland and the consolidation of socialism and peace in the world.

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CSO: 2400/116

## REGIONAL PARTY SECRETARIES DISCUSS AGRICULTURE

AU201350 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 87 p 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "Analyzing Shortcomings Carefully"]

[Text] Prague (Z)--National conference of CPCZ Regional Committee secretaries for party work in agriculture was held on Friday [16 January] in Prague; it was chaired by Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and secretary.

It was also attended by Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee department head; Rudolf Vanco, deputy head of Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee department; the chairman of the Central Committee of the Cooperative Farmers' Union; chairmen of the Central Committees of trade unions of workers in agriculture and the food industry, in the timber industry, and in forestry and water economy; Miroslav Toman, CSSR's deputy premier and minister of agriculture and food; and by the ministers of agriculture and food and of forestry and water economy in the Czech and Slovak SRs.

The conference discussed the course taken by party agencies and organizations in the agricultural-food complex and in the forestry and water economy to ensure the conclusions adopted by the Fourth CPCZ Central Committee session. It also dealt with the appraisal of results achieved in the first year of the 5-year plan and with the ensurance of tasks planned for 1987 and for the Eighth 5-Year Plan in the above branches.

The agenda mainly and particularly dealt with ways to achieve efficient operation of the improved agricultural management system and ways to ensure an all-round intensification and increased thrift in food production. The conference assessed the results achieved in the conclusion of economic contracts from the standpoint of ensuring all social needs in agricultural produce, as well as ensuring the essential needs of agriculture by the delivery branches.

It was stressed that, in discussing these issues at the annual members' meetings, the CPCZ factory organizations must not tolerate undemanding and superficial appraisals of the results achieved in the first year of the quinquennium and in the ensurance of tasks planned for this year. One must carefully analyze everywhere the shortcomings that become apparent, so that the working collectives understand their causes, and specific ways to overcome them.

The conference also discussed other topical tasks of party-political work which follow from the conclusions adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on improving the management of the national economy in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, on reorganizing the economic mechanism, and on improving the quality of production.

In the discussion, the secretaries of the party's regional committees provided inter alia, data on the measures carried out to ensure smooth operations in the agricultural and food enterprises and to ensure regular deliveries of foodstuffs to the population under the current difficult weather conditions.

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C50: 2400/120



## SHORTCOMINGS REPORTED FROM GABCIKOVO PROJECT

AU161334 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Jan 87 p 3

[Article by Frantisek Buda: "Repetition Is the Mother of Wisdom, but Also Gambling With People's Trust"]

[Excerpts] We regard the construction of the system of the hydroelectric projects in the Czechoslovak-Hungarian section of the Danube to be of particular importance for the economies of the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic. However, despite its priority, the material and technical ensurance of the project had and has many shortcomings which are also reflected in the political situation between the builders.

From the viewpoint of the construction work, this year and next year will be decisive in Gabčíkovo. We ask? Can the tasks be fulfilled? The answer is direct: Yes, but all suppliers must pay more attention to the project. Materials and machinery cannot remain in the plan of the project's production ensurance [výrobná zabezpečenie] only, but must be delivered.

The list of lacking deliveries is long. The greatest problem are cranes. This year the project is to get seven new ones, two of them from France. Thus far, there is only one at the project--unassembled. It shows that gravel sand will be lacking--118,000 cubic meters altogether. According to the builders, there won't be enough sheet plywood, sawn wood, welded steel nets, bentonite, conveyer belts, vibrators, hot-air aggregates...and one could go on enumerating. A priority project needs timely and comprehensive deliveries of materials and technology. Otherwise the plans are on paper only. This is an idea which all those who are taking part in the construction of the project should take to heart, all who have the duty to help it along. The saying that repetition is the mother of wisdom should definitely not apply here.

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CSO: 2400/120

## BRIEFS

**SOVIET CONSTRUCTION MINISTER DEPARTS**--Prague Jan 17 (CTK)--Yevgeniy Varnachev, Soviet minister of machine building for construction, road building and municipal services, ended a working visit to Czechoslovakia and left Prague for home today. During his stay, he held talks with Czechoslovak minister of general engineering Ladislav Luhovy, who invited him, on an expanded program of cooperation in building and road building engineering for the period up to the year 2000, concerning especially expanded direct contacts between organizations under the two ministries and scientific-technological cooperation. Among other issues discussed was the creation of a joint Czechoslovak-Soviet enterprise for commercial and technical services for building and road building machinery supplied to the Soviet Union. Minister Varnachev visited several heavy engineering plants making building and road building machines. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1313 GMT 17 Jan 87 LD] /6662

**TU CONFERENCES ELECT OFFICIALS**--The Czech conference of the Finance and Foreign Trade Employees Trade Union reelected Lubomir Krivinka as chairman of the Czech Committee of the trade union in Prague on 9 January. The Slovak conference of the Trade Industry Workers Trade Union elected Sidonia Mikusova as chairwoman of the Slovak committee of the trade union in Banska Bystrica on 11 January. The Slovak conference of the Transportation and Highway Management of Workers Trade Union elected Ladislav Fegyveres as chairman of the Slovak committee of the trade union in Povazska Bystrica on 11 January. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jan 87 p 2 AU] /6662

**PROBLEMS WITH SOIL**--Intensive plant production requires an increased deployment of heavy agricultural machinery on arable land which, as a rule, causes the compression of soil to the depth of 30-60 centimeters, with the result that the "room for the plants' root systems decreases" and, at times of disproportionate precipitation, slows down the absorption of water and causes areas to become waterlogged. A comprehensive soil survey has revealed that in the CSSR there are 186,000 hectares of "very heavy" and 525,000 hectares of "heavy" soil and, moreover, that 1.5 million hectares of the total 4.8 million hectares of arable land can be rated as "difficult to till and prone to compression." The "soil resistance" has just about doubled in the past 30 years, and therefore all field work requires disproportionately more energy and increases the need for fuels. "Economic losses caused by the compression of soil are being estimated at Kcs2-3 million and 75,000 metric tons of the fuels annually. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Jan 87 p 3 AU] /6662

**MACHINERY EXPORTS TO USSR**--In the last 10 months of 1986 the TECHNOPOL foreign trade organization of Bratislava exported machinery and equipment valued at Kcal.331 billion to the USSR. This year, TECHNOPOL is expected to deliver to the USSR machinery and equipment--mostly for the USSR's food program--valued at Kcal.540 billion. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Jan 87 p 3 AU] /6662

**JAKES ADDRESSES REGIONAL AKTIV**--Milos Jakes, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke in Ceske Budejovice today at a regional party aktiv on working out the conclusions of the fourth session of the party Central Committee, on annual member meetings and on safeguarding the fulfillment of the second year of the 5-year plan. He spoke about the importance of the fulfillment of the qualitative indices of the production plans for the creation of the national revenue. He emphasized the need to improve the organization of work, do away with delays and reduce the stock of unfinished products. He stressed that finding and removing the causes of these shortcomings requires the people's initiative. Comrade Milos Jakes also spoke about the inspection function of the party organizations. He said that the approaching primary party organizations meeting must become a concern of all members and of the senior management. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Jan 87 LD] /6662

**SOVIET SPECIALISTS IN PRESOV**--The Robot "International Scientific-Production Association" with its seat in Presov has at the moment a staff of 123, of which 21 are Soviet specialists, overwhelming "engineer-technical workers," of which two-thirds have their families with them in Presov. Next year, the Robot's cadre is to increase to 170 persons, and by the end of this 5-year plan to about 280. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDEL'SKE NOVINY in Czech 9 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /6662

**RAILROAD AHEAD OF PLAN**--In the first 11 months of this year, the Czechoslovak State Railroads carried a total of 272,999,000 metric tons of freight, thus exceeding the planned target by 1.1 percent. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Dec 86 p 2 AU] /6662

**DUKOVANY FULFILLS ANNUAL PLAN**--(CTK)--The Dukovany nuclear power station fulfilled its 1986 plan for 5.5 million megawatt hours of electricity on 6 December. The employees of the power station hope to exceed this year's planned output by 450,000 megawatt hours by the end of the year, thereby fulfilling their socialist pledge adopted in honor of the 17th CPCZ Congress. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /6662

CSO: 2400/120

## EFFORTS TO UNIFY ELECTRIC POWER INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 17-19 Jan 87 p 3

[Excerpts] The lack of a unified management of electric power plants has taken a high toll in power shortages. [But] now the electric power industries of republics and provinces are nearer than ever to signing a self-management agreement on pooling resources for the joint construction of a dispatcher center and for developing a technical control system. Almost 4 years ago a \$70 million loan from the European Investment Bank and a \$120 million loan from the IBRD were taken out for this construction but instead of these funds being used, they have dwindled as a result of interest and penalty payments. It is estimated that about \$6,000 has been paid out up to now as a result. All the electric power organizations have not yet enacted the necessary decisions in accord with the Law on Providing Funds in Serbia where the center is to be built. But the end of administrative problems is in sight. At the last meeting of the executive council of JUGEL [Yugoslav Electric Power Association] which has coordinated the work, it was decided to immediately form an organization for constructing the dispatcher center and for developing the technical control system, which would include higher-paid specialists.

The greatest obstacle in realizing this project has been the custom of electric power organizations in each republic managing their own plants and power reserves, regardless of the situation in other republics. So, numerous times we have gotten into a situation, such as this year, where winter has arrived without water or mazut reserves which were so plentiful just a short time ago that they were sold very cheaply. The most important result of a unified system of technical control will be that power plants will be most efficiently used during periods of normal supply of power regardless of where the plants are located. Even this, of course, cannot happen overnight. Along with the center, a consciousness must be built that realizes that what is best for every area is that which is most efficient for the country.

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CSO: 2800/108



## DATA ON SOCIALIZED SECTOR OF SMALL BUSINESS

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 87 p 11

[Excerpts] Olga Lilic, special adviser in the commission for small business within the PKJ (Yugoslav Economic Chamber), said that under the concept of small business one often mistakenly understands only private work. She noted that the socialized sector of small business includes 2,662 OURs (organizations of associated labor) with about 200,000 workers. The number of employees per OUR averages 76. The largest number of such OURs is in the artisan sector (947) with 71,581 workers, followed by the construction industry (730) with 43,561 workers.

In addition to OURs, there are 170 contract organizations of associated labor with about 5,000 workers; and 468 cooperatives with a large number of persons who pool labor and resources and with 242,555 private stores with a total of 124,708 workers [cooperating with these cooperatives].

The character of cooperatives will soon change, i.e., they will no longer be only buying and selling cooperatives, but business centers in the true sense of the word, and, with the task of establishing a link between private work and large enterprises on a cooperative basis, keeping up with new technology, administering plans, and following the operation of those who are pooling labor and resources.

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CSO: 2800/108

## BRIEFS

**CONVERSION AT 'FENI' PLANT**--The failed "Feni" ferronickel plant in Kavadarci will start to hire its first workers. On the basis of a project of the "Teteks" wool combine in Tetovo, part of the "Feni" plant (particularly, the restaurant part) by the end of this year will be made into a facility for annually producing 400,000 pairs of slacks and other light ready-made clothing, in which 370 workers will be employed. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 87 p 12] /6091

**TRADE WITH IRAQ**--In the first 10 months of this year Yugoslavia exported \$278.6 million worth of goods to Iraq or 31 percent more than in the same 1985 period; and imported \$334.3 million worth of goods. The quality of our export structure improved in this trade, most of which consisted of machines, equipment, producer goods, and other products directly linked to the capital investment work of our construction firms in Iraq. The arrangement on collecting on the accounts receivable which was drawn up between our two countries has had the most effect on this. Thus, a bilateral measure did what none of our domestic measures has been able to do up to now--namely, forced our construction operations to calculate domestically-produced equipment into their business deals as much as possible. Three of our organizations (Hidrogradnja and Energoinvest from Sarajevo and Energoprojekt from Belgrade) have obtained new and valuable...work in the Iraqi market, the first significant work since 1981. Added to this is the fact that the arrangement on our collecting on accounts receivable is being fulfilled without difficulties. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 86 p 3] /6091

**TU AGAINST 'CAPITALIST WORKERS'**--The recent discussion FEC President Branko Mikulic had with our people who are working abroad who are willing to invest capital in Yugoslavia, was commented on at a meeting held the first days in January of the Presidium of the governing council of the SSJ (Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia). The assessment was made that some potential factory owners [among Yugoslav workers abroad] have set unacceptable conditions; above all, the demand that they can hire and fire workers at will. Zvonimir Hrabar said that there are vacillations in regard to the rights of these workers but not to such a degree as to permit "slipping" out of the Constitution. In other words, the trade union is vehemently against the status of "capitalist workers" in our system. [Excerpt] [Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 87 p 5] /6091

**SLOVENE-MACEDONIAN COMPUTER PLANT--**The "Iskra-Delta" plant in Ljubljana and the "Minel-Ema" enterprise in Ohrid will build a new factory in Ohrid for production related to the "Dips 85" microcomputer system used in remote control and in directing the electric power industry and heating and gas lines by the end of next year. Preliminary calculations place the value of the factory at 1 billion dinars, with each plant contributing one-half of the funds. The new factory will employ 50 highly-skilled workers. "Iskra-Delta" developed the "Dips" system which is not under any foreign license, and it will provide the complete technology for the Ohrid plant. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 87 p 10] /6091

CSO: 2800/108

## VOLUME OF COLLECTED SPEECHES BY ALIA REVIEWED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 14 Sep 86 p 1

[Article: "A Work of Great Ideological and Political Value: Comrade Ramiz Alia's Book, "Fjalime e Biseda 1985" [Speeches and Talks 1985]]

[Text] It has been a few days since the communists, cadres and all the workers of our country have obtained Comrade Ramiz Alia's book, "Fjalime e Biseda 1985", which they are studying with great interest.

This book begins the publication of the series, "Fjalime e Biseda [Speeches and Talks], containing the works of the First Secretary of the AWP Central Committee, which is being published by decree of the party Central Committee. Each volume of this series will include speeches, talks, discussions and other materials delivered at the party forums, at conferences and various meetings, in talks with the people, with cadres, etc.

The publication of this book, on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the founding of the party and of its 9th congress constitutes an important event in the political and ideological life of the party and the country. The materials which are included in this volume increase the rich fund of party documents and the work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and they will be a new source of inspiration, and a powerful means for the ideological and revolutionary tempering of our people.

The speeches, talks, discussions and other materials which are included in this volume belong to the period from April to December 1985. They were written and delivered during one of the most significant and difficult periods through which our party and people have passed, when they lost their most cherished son, the founder of the party, the architect of the new, socialist Albania, the glorious and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. For that reason, the figure and immortal work of Comrade Enver stand at the center of this volume.

In several speeches directly dedicated to Comrade Enver Hoxha, but also in many other speeches and talks with cadres and with the people, the author paints a portrait of this great revolutionary leader and thinker, who, at the head of the party and the people for almost half a century, created an epoch. In the speech delivered at the 11th plenum of the AWP Central Committee, which



met on 13 April 1985 to honor and perpetuate the name and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha, with deep sorrow, but with extraordinary respect and unprecedented strength, with rare maturity and courage, Comrade Ramiz Alia commemorated this most beloved man, this great people's leader, this distinguished Marxist-Leninist, who, with sure hands, with resolution and wisdom, led the masses in the people's revolution, who made Albania an honored country in the world, a free and independent country, with a progressive social order which guarantees the workers a happy future.

The great honor and respect for his unforgettable comrade and teacher has been merged with the honor and respect of a whole people for its leader and has become a vital material force. His deep gratitude to and boundless love for Comrade Enver Hoxha are evident on every page of this volume. They are the feelings of a fellow combatant and a close and trusted collaborator, whose paternal hand and care Comrade Ramiz felt closely during the years of the National Liberation Struggle and for the next forty years. They are the feelings of a resolute successor on the road of Comrade Enver's glorious work to advance continually the great cause of socialist construction and defense of the fatherland. "Our gratitude and respect for everything he has done for the people, for the fatherland, for communism," emphasizes Comrade Ramiz Alia, "we will express by safeguarding, like the apple of our eye, and advancing still further that sacred work, socialist Albania, to which he devoted his whole life, his whole knowledge, his whole revolutionary energy, his whole love and his great heart."

The writings in this volume are distinguished for their high principles, their ideological maturity and the strength of their works, which touches and penetrates deeply into the minds and hearts of the communists and workers. The thorough Marxist treatment and scientific analyses which he had made of situations, the answers that he gives on many problems, and the many conclusions and lessons that he draws constitute an important theoretical and practical contribution of great value for the present and the future. At the foundation of these materials are the Marxist-Leninist thought of our party and the ideas and directives of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In treating important problems of the times, in many speeches, discussions and talks, the first secretary of the party Central Committee stresses the need for strengthening constantly the leading role of the party in the whole life of the country, as well as strengthening the militant role of communists. The constructive instructions and directives which he gives in the book on these problems clearly indicate his concern for and special attention to the great work which must be accomplished by the party organs and organizations, we well as all the communists, to revolutionize their work constantly and to increase its effectiveness, so that it may respond better, in a timely manner, to the revolutionary drive and vigor of the masses. "The work of the party," emphasizes Comrade Ramiz Alia, "is creative work, full of passion and emotion . . . , it is work which changes constantly from one region to another, from one day to the next, from one social milieu to another." As such, it requires broad horizons, progressive thought, and skilled study and work on the part of

the communists and cadres. These, it is emphasized in the volume, must be distinguished from others, they must not be reconciled to indifference and complacency, to bureaucracy and technocracy.

The strength of our party, the strength of the communists, lies in the people, in links with the people. Links with the people constitute a requirement which is connected with the very nature of our party. For that reason, instructs Comrade Ramiz Alia, the communists, as specialists in the party line, must learn to master warm communication with the masses, must work untiringly to inculcate in them the communist ideal, must be loved and respected by the masses, and must live in spirit together with the people.

In emphasizing the successes achieved by the working class and the cooperativist peasantry in fulfilling the tasks of the plan, Comrade Ramiz Alia raises many important problems connected with the economic and social development of our country. Stress is placed on continuing along the road of socialist construction by relying totally on our own forces, by always ensuring the maintenance of fundamental proportions among their various internal branches and constantly increasing the effectiveness of the economy. The party organs and organizations, as well as the state and economic organs, are faced with important tasks involving the correct execution of the economic policy of the party, in the struggle against the one-sidedness in the development of the economy and in the fulfillment of tasks of the plan, in order to prevent different levels of achievement and disproportions, and to increase continually concern, initiative and self-reliance in the struggle to fulfill the plans and overcome difficulties. Connected with these, strong emphasis is placed on the necessity for continual improvement of the organization and management of work, which constitutes one of the greatest improperly used reserves. To advance work in the economy, there is a need for study, work and scientific management for great and effective solutions; a spirit of assault is required in the constant struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism. In order to execute the party line and directive, it is strongly stressed in the volume, all must struggle--the party organs and organizations, the organs of government and the economy, etc., but each from its own standpoint of work, without duplication and parallelism. Special emphasis is placed to the improvement and intensification of control over execution of tasks and their constant monitoring, as well as an increase in account ability.

The materials that treat problems of deepening revolutionary initiatives and movement of the masses are very interesting. In drawing attention to the fact that a new and militant attitude must be exercised toward them, Comrade Ramiz Alia gives special attention to the innovator's movement, which, as he points out, is a movement with a deep political, popular and patriotic character, a characteristic of our time. The present state requires that this great force should be placed in better utilized by the party organs and organizations, by the economic organs and especially by the trade union organizations. In analyzing the content of the powerful movement, "Standard-Bearers of the Execution of the Teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha," it is emphasized that this movement must be conceived as a broad movement with deep content, which is not limited solely to the economic area. It is, first of all, an ideological

movement which reflects the lofty political consciousness of our people. At the same time, it "is a great commitment, since you must work according to the teachings of Comrade Enver, you must apply his teachings, which means that you must always struggle at work, you must be a revolutionary in the full meaning of the word in all areas, you be be creative and courageous, and you must not draw back in the face of difficulties."

There is also a reflection in the volume of the correct line which our party has followed and continues to follow, which, along with economic progress, also fulfills the cultural and social development of the country. The great achievements which have occurred in these fields, under the leadership of the party, require that the party and its levers intensify their efforts to improve art and literature, our culture and our new science to an ever higher level, so that they may play a continually greater role in the life of the country. Comrade Ramiz Alia stresses that our art and culture must be closely linked with the tasks of the socialist revolution, must nourish and inspire the masses with lofty communist ideals, with a militant and creative spirit, and must propagate progressive thought among the people. "True art," he emphasizes in the volume, "is that which keeps pace with the important concerns of the people and which raises before society the problems which appear in life, while also indicating their solutions." Just as with other areas, culture and art require a greater struggle against the mediocre--level, since average tastes and requirements hinder art. The author's interest in this problem speaks for the party's special concern for the sound development of literature and the arts.

The materials that treat problems of foreign policy and the international situation are also of special interest. In the speech given at the meeting in Korce, the principled revolutionary and internationalist foreign policy of the party and our socialist state was clearly defined once again in an all-encompassing manner. In this speech, it is strongly emphasized that Albania will follow faithfully, resolutely and unswervingly the foreign policy line established and pursued by Comrade Enver Hoxha; it will take a resolute stand against American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism; it will oppose, as always, their aggressive policies; and it will struggle uncompromisingly against modern revisionism of every shade, as well as against international reaction.

The speeches and talks delivered at meetings with the people, with the cadres and with the ordinary people, during the visits made by Comrade Ramiz Alia to various districts of the country in those days of great sorrow, warm the hearts of the entire people and of the communists. Comrade Ramiz, in standing among the people, in speaking with them face to face, gave them strength and power, but also received the people's maturity and strength. The warm conversation between the leader and the people was the conversation of the party with the ordinary working people. In these conversations, in the enthusiastic receptions which the people gave him, they manifested, once again, the ardent and boundless love of the people for the party, the steel-like unity of the people around the party. The visits made by Comrade Ramiz and the speeches and talks, although given in a few districts, radiated throughout our country and people. The very precious instructions and

teachings found in these speeches and talks constitute a great work program for all the communists and workers, a strong source of mobilization to fulfill tasks in all areas and always to achieve new victories.

In studying this book by Comrade Ramiz Alia, our communists, cadres and working masses receive valuable teachings on greatly increasing their revolutionary vigor at work, their vigilance and readiness to defend the victories they have achieved, and their resoluteness in constantly advancing the socialist construction of the country.

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CSO: 2100/12



**STROUGAL, OTHERS RECEIVE VISITING BELGIAN MINISTERS**

LDO72322 Prague CTK in English 2007 GMT 7 Jan 87

[Text] Prague Jan 7 (CTK)--Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today Belgian Deputy Premier and Minister of Economic Affairs Philippe Maystadt and Finance Minister Mark Eyskens, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

Lubomir Strougal expressed interest in promoting all-round cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Belgium, particularly economic cooperation, extension of goods exchange, cooperation in production and specialization, and other forms of cooperation which help increase effectiveness of the national economy.

Both sides stressed that the development of fruitful cooperation between countries with different social systems significantly contributes towards understanding between nations and strengthening peace as a precondition of a happy future of mankind.

The two Belgian officials met later in the day with Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle, at whose invitation their visit is taking place.

They discussed the development of bilateral relations in the economic sphere to date and stated that there exist good preconditions for and mutual interest in their further extension.

The visiting government officials also met with Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Bohumil Urban for talks on concrete themes and possibilities of the development of Czechoslovak-Belgian economic contacts.

Philippe Maystadt also held talks with Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Svatopluk Potac who informed him of the objectives of Czechoslovakia's current 8th five-year plan, and of questions concerning external economic relations and capital construction. The Belgian guest was also received by Czechoslovak Minister of Fuel and Power Vlastimil Ehrenberger and by Czech Minister for Industry Petr Hojer.

Finance Minister Mark Eyskens met for talks with Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Bohuslav Kucera and deputy chairman of its house of the people Alois Hula. He also met with Czechoslovak Finance Minister Jaromir Zak and Czech Finance Minister Jiri Nikodyn.

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CSO: 2020/47

**KEMPNY RECEIVES GREEK PARLIAMENTARIANS**

LD162244 Prague CTK in English 1851 GMT 16 Jan 87

[Text] Prague Jan 16 (CTK)--A delegation of the Greek parliament which arrived earlier in the day was received by Czech National Council (Parliament) Chairman Josef Kempny.

Josef Kempny underlined the traditional relations between the two countries, and called for the further development of Czechoslovak-Greek cooperation.

Head of the Greek delegation, first deputy speaker Michalis Stefanidis noted that Czechoslovak-Greek relations are continuously expanding, e.g. cooperation in science, technology, trade and cultural exchange, and added that unused possibilities still exist in the economy, tourism, and in the field of contacts between social organizations. He stressed his delegation would support development of all-round cooperation in every possible way.

Later on, the delegation had talks with first deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Jan Marko who spoke of the orientation of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy on the principles of non-interference and mutually beneficial cooperation of states with different social systems. He added that solving present problems required a new way of political thinking, a compromise and equal security for all. In this context he spoke highly of the Delhi Declaration in whose elaboration Greece took part.

Greek First Deputy Speaker Mikhail Stefanidhis confirmed Greece's interest in a further expansion of the traditional friendly relation. He spoke with appreciation of Czechoslovakia's principled stand on solving the Cyprus problem, on removing all military bases from the island, and the assistance given by Czechoslovakia to Greek emigres after World War II.

The Greek representative said that Greece is also of the opinion that the most important task at present is to maintain peace, and added that a proof of this are Greek initiatives within the framework of the Group of Six countries and Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou's peace proposals.

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## BRIEFS

HAVLIN, DELEGATION RETURN FROM PORTUGAL--Prague Dec 19 (CTK)--A study delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, led by the party Central Committee Secretary Josef Havlin, returned here today from a visit to Portugal. The delegation learned during its stay in Portugal the experience of the Portuguese Communist Party in the ideological work, education and culture. The delegation also informed Portuguese Communists of the results achieved in Czechoslovakia in the sphere of education, science and culture. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1900 GMT 19 Dec 86 LD] /6662

SCIENCE AGREEMENT WITH ITALY--Rome Dec 18 (CTK)--President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Josef Riman signed here today an amended text of the agreement on scientific cooperation between the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and the Italian National Council for Research. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1953 GMT 18 Dec 86 LD] /6662

CSO: 2020/47

**HAGER ADDRESSES UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE**

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Nov 86 pp 3-5

[Speech given by Kurt Hager, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and SED Central Committee secretary for culture and science, at the Scientific and Methodological Conference of Marxist-Leninist Basic Studies at the Humboldt University in East Berlin on 24 October 1986: "Marxism-Leninism and the Present"]

[Text] Comrades!

For 35 years Marxist-Leninist basic study has been a firm element of teaching and education at our universities and colleges. Through this study, students of all branches become acquainted with the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism--dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, scientific socialism--and with the history of the workers movement. Through their theoretical and political-ideological work the professors, lecturers, and scientific staff members of the Marxism-Leninism departments make a great contribution to educating the socialist intelligentsia of our GDR. For this, dear comrades, I very cordially thank you on behalf of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker.

In the past 3 and 1/2 decades quite a lot of changes have been made in the syllabi and teaching materials of this basic study. This scientific-methodological conference will discuss details of the teaching plans and materials, as well as the study process. This is in line with the character of our scientific ideology, which is constantly developed and enriched under the changing social conditions and historical conditions. This creative character is a decisive factor of the far-reaching effects of Marxism-Leninism in history and in the present.

**Creative Character**

Marx, Engels, and Lenin repeatedly stressed that the scientific socialism founded by them is not a collection of dogmas, not a catechism of rigid rules, but guidance for action. Its basic principles, above all the scientifically founded doctrine of the historic mission of the workers class to overthrow the society of capitalist exploitation and build the socialist social order, remain the unshakable foundation of the ideology of the workers



class and its revolutionary party. The greatness, vital strength, and eternal effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism lie in the fact that it has the ability and meets the demand placed on a scientific theory to answer the new problems of social development, the questions posed by life.

If Western authors say that at present a "modernization of Marxism" is going on, they only reveal their total ignorance of our ideology: Marxism-Leninism has never been outdated and obsolete, as its opponents maintain, it has been and always will be modern in the sense that it gives an answer to the questions on the agenda in a certain concrete historical situation and at the same time it fulfills a prognostic function. Thus, today we are facing the questions of war and peace, the global problems of mankind, and the problems that must be solved in shaping the developed socialist society in the present and the period through the year 2000 in economy, science, education, culture, and other fields, as well as in cooperation between the socialist states. The 11th SED Congress impressively demonstrated this. Its resolutions—above all the Central Committee report given by SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker, and the directive on the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan—give the Marxist-Leninist answer to the questions of the present and the coming years, and of course while taking into account the concrete conditions and requirements of our country.

At its 27th Congress the CPSU adopted the Marxist-Leninist orientation for safeguarding peace and accelerating the socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union. This opens up a historic change in the USSR's development and is of the utmost significance for the further strengthening of socialism in the world. The other fraternal parties of the socialist states and the communist and workers parties of the capitalist countries are also making their contribution to further developing and enriching the Marxist-Leninist theory and policy of the present.

Of course, it must always be taken into account that the programmatic announcements and resolutions of individual parties are not only marked by the universal legalities of the class struggle and the socialist revolution, but also by the peculiarities of social development in every country. Our party takes as the guiding line of its actions the SED's party program adopted at the 9th Party Congress in 1976 and the resolutions of the 11th Party Congress in April 1986. In closest affinity with the people it undertakes every effort to implement these resolutions successfully and constructively in order to make peace more secure and strengthen socialism.

#### **Mankind's Interest in Peace**

#### **Comrades!**

The era in which we live is particularly marked by the fact that the basic contradiction between socialism and capitalism, which determines the era's character, is occurring in a world in which another contradiction is taking effect, a contradiction on whose solution depends the existence of mankind. There is a deep contradiction between the vital interests of the peoples and states on the one hand, and on the other hand the aims of a small stratum of

particularly aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism aimed at confrontation, intensive armament, and world domination: a contradiction which has assumed a global dimension.

The policy of the militarist circles of imperialism fans tensions and complicates the international situation. Now the accumulation of nuclear weapons and the improvement of conventional arms has reached an extent which would not guarantee victory in war to any side. In a nuclear war there would be neither winners nor losers but only a nuclear desert. For the first time in history a situation has developed where to be or not to be is the main question of mankind, where literally the existence of mankind is threatened.

Among the principles of the policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states is the fact that, in view of the unavoidable disastrous consequences of a nuclear conflict, war as means of politics becomes all the more senseless. Guaranteeing the security of states is not possible by acting against each other, but only by acting with each other as a joint task to be solved on an international level. Recognition of the legitimate security interests of the other side requires an international policy based on reason and responsibility, equilibrium, and restraint. It calls for a new approach to international relations, new thinking.

Proceeding from this knowledge, the Soviet side submitted far-reaching proposals for armament limitation and disarmament at the meeting between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Reykjavik. They provide for the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons first by 50 percent and then completely, for the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles in Europe and their limitation in Asia, a ban on all nuclear tests, the strengthening of the ABM treaty with a simultaneous ban on testing cosmic weapons in space.

The Reykjavik meeting was doubtless a significant political event. It demonstrated that it would be possible to liberate the world from nuclear arms and conventional armaments. But the historic chance to make a decisive step toward armament limitation and disarmament has failed due to the American refusal to renounce the testing of cosmic weapons in space and the implementation of the Star Wars program, SDI. However, there cannot be a reduction of nuclear arms on earth, if at the same time armament continues in space.

The U.S. Administration's adherence to the SDI program contradicts any logic. For if both sides were to agree on the elimination of nuclear arms and the adherence to, and even strengthening of, the ABM treaty, the development of the United States' so-called "space defense system" against missiles would be useless. The adherence to the SDI program can only aim at obtaining military superiority for the United States and enabling it to have a first strike against the Soviet Union. Mikhail Gorbachev rightly stated repeatedly that, through SDI, a destabilization of the military-strategic situation is brought about and, as a consequence, the arms race would be enormously increased.

It is important to answer the question of who is interested in aggravating the international situation, in fanning the arms race, and in preparing a nuclear war. And it is also important to disprove the sophisms and lies which substantiate this policy of confrontation, above all the statement about the alleged threat to the West from the Soviet Union.

The American refusal to renounce the testing of the SDI program in space is the result of the work of the most reactionary forces of imperialism. Among them are the leading armament concerns which regard the production of arms as a unique source of expansion and enrichment. The Pentagon and the militarist forces in other state institutions also have a considerable share in the U.S. intensive armament policy, for which approximately \$300 billion are earmarked for 1987 alone. As a state monopolist organ the American war department (Kriegsministerium) decisively controls the production of ever new systems of weapons, and fans the arms race. In increasing the U.S. armament policy a number of committees, associations, institutions, and organizations such as the "Rand Corporation" and the "Heritage Foundation" play a fatal role.

Referring to relations with the Soviet Union, William Fulbright, former chairman of the foreign political committee in the Senate, characterized the forces acting in the United States as follows: "There are a lot of people in the administration, particularly in the Pentagon, who are strictly against an improvement of our relations with the Soviet Union. They are afraid of no longer getting enough money for armament, and therefore they frighten Congress to death." (Footnote 1) (DIE ZEIT, Hamburg, 3 October 1986)

The direct influence of these forces of the military-industrial complex on the foreign and military political process of decisionmaking can be traced to several factors:

- The uninterrupted U.S. aspiration toward global domination;
- The enormous military machinery created for this purpose, which is much larger than in other imperialist states;
- The unusually distinct degree of monopolization and the concentration of power in the hands of U.S. monopolies on the national and international scale;
- The interlacing of the imperialist state and monopolies, which reveals itself in the most comprehensive manner in the United States.

In the late seventies and early eighties these reactionary quarters were even able to broaden their scope of activities, because they succeeded in exploiting the internal and external existential conditions that had changed to the detriment of U.S. imperialism in order to stir up a "mood of national awakening" by means of militant anticommunism. This mood operated as a political integrating factor among the bourgeoisie and, at the same time, hampered oppositional forces that act against the course of arms drive and confrontation.



Nor must the fact be ignored, however, that the most aggressive forces are losing influence. Thus, in 1981 more than 60 percent of Americans were in favor of increasing expenditure on arms, and 7 percent opposed this. In 1985 only 16 percent approved the high arms expenditures, whereas 30 percent objected to a greater armament budget. (Footnote 2) (S-Sch-A, Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya, Moscow, 8/86)

Since the Reykjavik meeting the U.S. Administration has repeatedly stated that the SDI program cannot be a subject of negotiations in disarmament talks with the Soviet Union and that under no conditions would it accept the elimination of all nuclear weapons (such as long-distance bombers equipped with nuclear arms and cruise missiles armed with nuclear warheads). It adheres to the Star Wars program, and in doing so is supported by the NATO defense ministers, FRG Chancellor Kohl, and by other Western politicians.

An approach that proceeds from realities and that is inspired by the responsibility for peace determines the foreign policy practice of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socialist states. At the 11th Party Congress the SED, in full agreement with the positions of the CPSU and of the other fraternal parties, demanded that one "should not stick to the patterns of thought of confrontation and of aspirations to military superiority, but should approach things in a new manner, and should find new patterns and processes in the relations between the different social systems, states, and regions." (Footnote 3) (Report of the SED Central Committee to the 11th SED Congress. Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker. Dietz Publishing Agency, Berlin, 1986, p 10)

We are made optimistic by the fact that in the past few years more and more social and political forces, governments and parliaments--just like us--have been stressing the need to approach international politics in new ways. There is no doubt that the initiatives of those countries that have signed the declaration of Delhi and the Harare declaration of nonaligned states attest to progress in this respect and so do the first few steps toward the renunciation of force and to the building of confidence that spring from the Stockholm conference in Europe. The initiative recently agreed upon by the SED and the SPD for the establishment of a nuclear weapons-free zone in Europe is an important expression of this responsible aspiration toward arms limitation and disarmament.

Like no other problem, the securing of world peace is in accord with the interests of the entire mankind. The fact that an increasingly broader spectrum of forces throughout the world also subjectively sees things in such a manner, and that this increasingly determines their political thoughts and practical activities leads to a uniform world conscience influencing world events more and more strongly in the interest of securing world peace. This basic current has attained a breadth that has never before existed in history. It likewise comprises states and social movements, pacifists and soberminded military men, believers of all religions, communists and noncommunists alike, workers, representatives of the business community, politicians and housewives, representatives of the intelligentsia



and youth, social democrats and trade unionists, bourgeois middle strata and moderate conservatives, representatives of big and small states, of neutral, nonaligned countries, socialist and capitalist countries, of countries that possess nuclear arms and of others that do not, people of all continents.

By their policy of active dialogue, the GDR and the other countries of the socialist community comprehensively promote the opportunities for the evolution of such a worldwide coalition of reason, realism and good will. On behalf of the GDR, Erich Honecker, for example, emphasized the efforts "to contribute to the union of those all over the world, who pursue reason and realism, prefer cooperation to confrontation, disarmament to arms modernization." (Footnote 4) (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 31 December 1985)

In objective terms, we do perceive the preconditions for the cooperation of widespread political and social forces and movements. Indeed, the efforts for a coalition of reason—to do everything possible to preserve the human species—demonstrate that general-human interests are more and more strongly defined in our present age. They have become a new category of world politics. The relationship between the interests of mankind and specific class interests is redefined for all classes.

No class is able any longer to pursue its specific interest without taking account of human survival, the central interest of mankind—not even the monopoly bourgeoisie, because it would not survive a nuclear war either. The revelation of the general human interest thus results in the contradiction between peace loving humanity and the militaristic coterie which gambles with the fate of mankind. This contradiction needs to be resolved in serious struggles, by repelling and paralyzing the most aggressive forces of imperialism.

The working class and its Marxist-Leninist ideology were always open to the interests of mankind. The classics of Marxism-Leninism never placed the interests of the proletariat above those of the world as a whole, social development in general, "...because," as Lenin said very clearly and precisely, "from the standpoint of basic Marxist thought," the interests of social development rank above those of the proletariat..." (Footnote 5) (V.I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 4, p 230)

At no period of history did the working class need war to realize its objectives. Indeed, together with the other working classes and strata, the working class was always among the chief victims of war. Only in case the primary goal of the prevention of war would be impossible of achievement should the watchword be for reversing the guns and using the new situation to carry out the socialist revolution.

However, while this prescription was correct and successful in former times, it is no longer feasible now in view of the radical change in the situation. A nuclear war could not possibly be transformed into the socialist revolution and social progress. Instead the realization of the political objectives of the working class presumes the prevention of a nuclear war and the

preservation of world peace. That has turned into an indispensable element of the historic mission of the working class.

We see reflected here the profoundly humanist nature of Marxism-Leninism, its inherent sense of responsibility for the fate of mankind. Erich Honecker emphasized in this context: "In the struggle for peace, the class interests of socialism are indivisibly linked with the innate interests of mankind as a whole." (Footnote 6) (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14/15 June 1986) For that reason, the working class and the countries of the socialist community will always be the champions of peace and its indispensable corollary--peaceful coexistence.

We often hear the question whether this broad approach, the dialogue, the policy of reason, realism and peaceful coexistence might not surrender or abandon the class struggle.

We need to be quite clear in our minds that the preservation of peace can be accomplished only in a hard struggle--the class struggle--against the most aggressive militaristic forces of U.S. imperialism. It would be entirely erroneous to harbor any illusions about the possibly easy and fast achievement of arms limitation, disarmament and a system of international security. The struggle for the preservation of peace will be hard and long. Sudden reverses and conflicts are always possible in the continuing tense international situation. It is up to us to meet them with a sense of responsibility and with skillfulness. Above all it is imperative for everyone to make his contribution, whether on the job or in the classroom, by concrete performances and good results to strengthen and safeguard peace.

In view of the threat to mankind's existence, preventing the nuclear catastrophe and safeguarding world peace means social progress in itself. At the same time, this is the precondition for social progress. It is, therefore, of great importance that over the past years the various organizations of the workers movement have committed themselves to an increasing degree to the peace movement, and have linked the struggle against the nuclear catastrophe with the struggle for social aims. Last but not least, this is due to the experience--which has been repeated millionfold in the meantime--that the course of arms buildup and confrontation exacerbates mass unemployment, results in wage decreases and the dismantling of the social welfare system, and leads to the further infringement of the rights of trade unions and the people in general.

To the same degree as the movements for peace are developing and as the world conscience is speaking up, anti-imperialist movements are also increasing, the people's masses are working for their democratic, social, and national interests in a more determined way. Thus monopolistic capital has not been able to reach the strategic aim for which it has been striving--the aim of a fundamental and profound qualitative change in the relationship of power between capital and work, which is now in favor of the workers movement.

In many capitalist countries democratic movements have appeared which have a lasting effect on the balance of power in domestic politics, which are long-term movements, and have the character of mass movements. It is not only the

communists but the most diverse forces of the left and democratic spectrum that, in dealing with questions of safeguarding peace, of work, and the environment develop conceptual ideas that are in the interest of the broad majority and that make them part of real political and social movements.

The priority of the survival of mankind as a whole does not eliminate the existing class differences and class interests, mainly between monopolistic capital and the workers class, nor does it abolish the differences and contradictions between the various social strata, the groups and movements interested in peace, and between the various groups of states in today's world. This results in qualitatively new demands on the subjective factor, on the correct realization of what the situation is like, on the ability to control conflict situations and to decide the respective forms of struggle, thus, the communist and workers parties' carrying through the struggle.

If we talk about the need for a new approach to international relations, for a new way of thinking, this means that the only possible prospect is the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Lenin founded this principle; for instance, in the draft resolution for the Genoa conference of 1922, where he stated that one must strive for true "equality of the two systems of property, at least as a provisional state, as long as the whole world has not made the transition from private property and the economic chaos and the wars that this generates to a higher level of property..." (Footnote 7) (V.I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 33, p 343)

Peaceful coexistence does not change the difference in the social systems, their different economic structures, forms of government, and ideologies. It does, however, abolish war as a political means and makes possible normal, peaceful competition in the economic and intellectual-cultural fields.

Ideological differences concerning one's view of the world and social concepts remain, because they are the results of differences in social systems and classes. In this respect compromises are neither possible nor necessary. But one has to learn to live with these differences and to settle them under peaceful conditions. Ideological struggle is inevitable, but it must be conducted in civilized forms. Ideological differences and their competition must not be a danger to peace. They must not be played up to an obstacle to normal international relations. But they should not be "relegated to a corner" or covered up, either.

Peaceful coexistence, we have always stressed, does not eliminate the oppositeness of socialism and capitalism. Shaping peaceful international relations is the prerequisite and basic condition for the further development of the competition between the two systems, with both sides having equal opportunities to develop their responses to the challenges which mankind has to face at the end of our century. We are sure that in this competition of basic social values socialism will prove its superiority in more and more areas.



## Prospects of Capitalism

The aggressive policy of the military-industrial complex and other reactionary forces of imperialism is most closely linked with the continuously deteriorating situation of the international capitalist economy. Recently, insecurity concerning further developments has increased on the part of the governments of imperialist countries, on the part of such institutions as the OECD, and also on the part of bourgeois economic researchers. Most prognoses made at the beginning of this year are only waste-paper now; "growth targets" had to be revised downward again and again.

In 1984 the industrial production of the capitalist industrial countries rose by an average of 7 percent compared with the year before, in 1985 it increased by only 3.4 percent. In 1986 it will probably go up by only 1 percent. Differences between the individual states can be seen in this development, but I do not want to deal with them in detail.

It is notable that with more than 30 million unemployed mass unemployment in the capitalist countries is still at the level of a crisis, in spite of a certain increase in the number of working people in some countries. The pressure of monopolies and governments on the wages of the working people is continuing, although in 1986 a certain increase of wages in real terms has been achieved due to the reduction of price increase rates.

The fast scientific-technological development favors the modernization of equipment. It leads to the more economical utilization of the basic assets, but at the same time it also allows increased saving of human labor, that means it destroys workplaces, although the development of this process on a large scale is only at the beginning. In the most important capitalist countries 20 to 25 percent of the production facilities are still not working to capacity. This hinders an increase of investments for equipment.

Even in the case of slow production development the monopolies continue to make enormous profits. The redistribution of the produced national income in favor of profits and to the disadvantage of the income of the masses has continued over the past years. In the FRG, for instance, net profits rose by 46.5 percent from 1980-85, while the net income of the working people increased by only 13.6 percent.

The chances for a speedy improvement in the economic situation are not very rosy. But the course of economic development--although recently it has been very disappointing for the monopolies and governments in most capitalist countries--by far fails to offer a complete picture of the present situation of the capitalist economy in the world. Precisely the present confirms the assessment already made by our party several years ago, that is, that under changed conditions of development for imperialism the course of the cycle of crises is particularly closely interlaced with a series of critical signs that have been maturing for quite some time, that are effective beyond the duration of one cycle of crises, and are the expression of a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism.



Among those long-term signs of crisis there is, in particular, the lasting mass unemployment. It demonstrates more clearly than all other developments the capitalist system's incapability to solve societal and social problems. This assertion also applies to the other signs of the crisis and instability of capitalism: the continuing crisis in the industrial structure, for instance in the steel industry and in ship building; the profound debt crisis in which most of the developing countries are submerged, whose indebtedness has meanwhile reached more than \$1,000 billion; the turbulence in the capitalist monetary, credit, and currency relations and their insecurity for the development of world trade, caused mainly by the hectic movements of foreign exchange rates; these are only some items on the list.

These long-term signs of crises do not come and go like the periodically emerging cyclical crises of overproduction, but they determine the development of the capitalist economy for a longer period. Last but not least, this period is influenced to a considerable degree by the consequences of the imperialist policy of arms buildup and confrontation. The arms buildup of the United States plays a key role here: It is the most important reason for the fact that the U.S. budget shows annual deficits of more than \$200 billion. In order to cover these deficits the United States continues to depend on a considerable import of capital, which it ensures--relying on its dominating role in the capitalist financial and currency relations--by maintaining different interest rates toward Japan and West European countries.

At the same time, the policy of arms buildup and confrontation--in particular because of the rise of the dollar exchange rate during the first half of the 1980's--has caused a loss of international competitiveness for the U.S. monopolies in many areas, even though in other fields, in particular in many areas of high technology, they continue to hold top positions. In spite of the drastic reduction of the dollar exchange rate since spring 1985, the U.S. foreign trade deficit has further increased. In 1986 it will amount to at least \$160 billion, while Japan and the FRG will reach an export surplus of about \$70 and \$40 billion respectively.

These increased disproportions in foreign trade between the three main competitors on the capitalist world market have caused the technological battles waged there to become more and more embittered and have further exacerbated the struggles between these powers. Although the United States has increased the pressure on its rivals, it has not been able to win, as was recently visible, for instance at the annual conference of the IMF.

In the relations between the imperialist countries the tensions between tendencies toward cooperation and tendencies toward rivalry and toward contradictions have further increased. The reasons for this are:

--The totality of the deterioration in imperialism's reproduction and growth conditions since the mid-seventies;

--The transition to a new stage of the scientific-technological revolution;  
and

--The unprecedented hegemonic pressure of the United States on its allies--in particular in NATO--to make them largely comply with its course of confrontation.

These three factors together cause a contradictory development with a current increase in differences between the imperialist centers and states concerning central questions of policy, economy, and the military.

Over the past few years, it has become clearer and clearer that the United States has developed--due to the international effect resulting from the "double deficit" (budget and foreign trade)--into the most significant factor of insecurity and disturbance, which hinders the pace of economic development in the capitalist industrial countries as well as in the developing countries. As long as the dangerous political course of the United States is continued, its negative effects on the international economy will remain.

In spite of all signs of crises and instability, we do not underestimate the economic potential which is available to the ruling forces in imperialist countries. Imperialism, which is a spoke in the wheel of social development, remains an opponent that has to be taken very seriously, in particular in the economic and technological area.

In many fields of scientific-technological development--in particular in the area of key technologies--capitalist companies demonstrate important achievements. Imperialism, however, is not able to transform scientific-technological progress into social progress for the working people. Quite the contrary; the scientific-technological revolution tends to increase the incompatibility of the modern productive forces and the increasingly social character of production with the capitalist private ownership of producer goods. Because of the dynamism of the scientific-technological revolution in particular, the objective of production limited to profit causes increasing insecurity concerning prospects, the risks that have to be expected in the economy, the rising uncertainty of the working people with regard to one's existence, and fear of technological progress and its consequences on the part of a large number of people.

### The Further Strengthening of Socialism

If one compares the two social systems the result is:

Capitalism is loaded with the pestilential stench of militarism and war, its aggressive forces endanger the existence of mankind because of their striving for world supremacy and their unchecked nuclear armament. Capitalism is incapable of solving social problems in the spirit of social progress, it can neither overcome the contradiction between work and capital nor the inter-imperialist and other contradictions. It is a society without a future.

Socialism is a young social system. The implementation of the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, and the development of a social world system caused the development of a social system whose peace program provides hope for mankind. Even

though much remains to be done in the shaping of the socialist society, in decisive areas it has already proved its superiority to capitalism and its ability to solve social problems--such as the right to work, education for all, and the true democracy of the people. The future belongs to socialism.

The decisive precondition for the successful struggle for peace and social progress is the further strengthening of socialism. In this respect the cooperation of the socialist states in the economic, scientific-technological, and intellectual-cultural areas gains increasing importance.

The talks which took place between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on the occasion of the dedication of the Ernst-Thaelmann monument were characterized by full agreement. This applies to the tasks of the struggle to safeguard peace as well as those of further strengthening the community of socialist states, of higher efficiency in cooperation and deepening the bilateral relations between the GDR and the USSR, the SED and the CPSU.

Comrade Honecker's trip to Asia is a historic event, a great contribution to the further consolidation of the relations with the DPRK, the PRC, and the Mongolian People's Republic. During his visit to China, which opens a new chapter in the relations between the GDR and the PRC, Erich Honecker said: "Our actions will always be guided by the strengthening of socialism, the consolidation of peace and friendship between our peoples." (Footnote 8) (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 22 October 1986) The agreements on long-term economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the PRC are a solid foundation for this orientation.

Our party makes its contribution to peace and the further strengthening of socialism through the consistent implementation of the decisions made at the 11th Party Congress. They introduce a qualitatively new stage in further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR.

The steady increase in the leading role of the SED--as the party of the workers class and the entire people--in building socialism, the deep trust between party and people, are the basis for the successful implementation of this new stage.

The 11th Party Congress decided the focal points of the party's economic strategy, which are directed toward the year 2000 and whose implementation is being carried out with great consistency. Our national economy is aimed at growth because this is the only way to create the conditions for continuing to raise, step by step, the people's material and cultural standard of living, to contribute to strengthening the community of socialist states, and to fulfill the tasks in connection with protecting and defending socialism.

If one wants to characterize the new quality of the economic strategy, three interlaced processes which motivate each other have to be mastered. These are:



1. The continuation of comprehensive intensification, which has to be ensured on a long-term basis;
2. Speedy renewal of the production process, that means, reaching high rates of renewal concerning production and its technology, as well as products;
3. The implementation of the key technologies in all areas of the national economy, in particular by applying them in a comprehensive and mutually interlacing way.

The connection between economic and social development, between economic and social progress is gaining more and more importance. This is not an easy relationship of cause and effect in the sense that the economic growth achieved by comprehensive intensification automatically means social progress. We consider further dynamic economic growth as the basis, the fundament of those profound political, social, intellectual, and cultural changes which characterize our socialist society. At the same time it is necessary—as is demanded in the SED program—to develop social and political relations, science and the education sector, socialist ideology and culture, the health sector, and national defense at a high level, because they are indispensable preconditions for economic growth and progress in the entire society.

To theoretically penetrate this inseparable unity of all aspects and areas of social life even more deeply and to generalize the practical experience gained over the past years is a demanding task for social scientists, which can only be fulfilled in interdisciplinary work. It is also important because the orientation of the economic policy toward linking the advantages of socialism with the achievements of science and technology often raises the question whether we do not overestimate scientific-technological progress, whether intellectual-cultural processes are not perhaps neglected.

In this respect we have to say: The profound changes in all areas of our society are inseparably interlaced with each other. We pay great attention to intellectual and cultural development, because without it there cannot be any social progress, any development of a socialist way of life. But the basis of progress is a revolutionary change in the productive forces, which is gaining a clear outline through the widespread introduction and economically effective application of the key technologies. The revolutionary changeover of productive forces is the central issue of our party's economic strategy. It is its purpose to promote the welfare of the people, their material and cultural living conditions. This is the task. It is inevitable. Its solution is the basis on which the policy decided by the 11th party congress can be steadily continued in all its aspects as a policy for our society.

#### Socialism and Science

The 1986-90 5-Year-Plan directive is aimed at achieving a considerable increase in labor productivity through high effectiveness in science and technology. Decisive factors in this period and beyond will be micro-electronics, information processing, flexible automation, and biotechnology. They demand the application of such working means and technologies as



integrated circuits, software, computers, robot technology, laser technology, or genetic engineering, and as a whole they stand for new quality, a revolutionary change and development in productive forces. What are their characteristics?

First, the speed with which fundamental scientific and technological innovations are achieved is further increasing. In particular in such decisive sectors as microelectronics, automation, computer and information technology, and last but not least, in the wide field of biotechnology no development limits can be seen at present. The decisive role played by science in the entire process of developing the productive forces is not new; but the ensuing social and theoretical consequences have not been exhaustively explored in any way.

Second, the periods in the science-production cycle are rapidly shortening. The pace of the scientific-technological revolution mainly depends on the extent to which basic scientific research can be pushed ahead, its achievements can be transformed without loss of time into technical and technological advance research [Vorlaufforschung], this research can be made to yield research and development that is directly oriented on methods and products, and their results can finally be made effective in production in an economically efficient way. It is not an isolated achievement in one of the cycle's stages but the mastering of the entire chain that decides on the ultimate success.

Third, the widespread effectiveness of scientific, technical, and technological progress is qualitatively increasing. Continuous changes in generations of products and technologies and appropriately high rates of renewal are among the reasons that give us the justification for speaking about new quality in the development of productive forces.

Prognoses of non-Marxist scientists proceed, for instance, from the premise that probably only half of the products that will be on the international markets in the 1990's are already known today. If we put the degree of utilization of microelectronics in the year 2000 at 100, at present it amounts to about 10 percent and in 1990 it will reach 25 percent. This is doubtless a rate of development of productive forces that cannot be compared with anything else in mankind's entire history and that also eclipses by far the radical changes in material productive forces brought about by the industrial revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries.

These global dimensions must be taken into consideration if one wants to correctly understand and put into context the emphasis put by the 11th SED Party Congress on mastering the key technologies. This is anything but an abstract or subjectively fixed aim; it is important to note objective regularities and to adjust our actions appropriately.

Fourth, the effective radius of scientific-technological changes is mounting to an unprecedented degree. The industrial revolution of the past mainly affected industry and transportation; large areas, such as agriculture, offices, or services remained mostly untouched. Today this is totally

different: There is basically no conceivable sector of social work that would not experience profound consequences from the scientific-technological revolution: with progressive automation, man—fully in keeping with Marx' famous prediction—gradually steps alongside the production process instead of being its leading agent. The office, which for many decades has been an area mostly bypassed by technological progress, is experiencing changes that are in no way smaller than those in material production. Top modern methods and technologies are entering the health sector, the schools, the mass media, the service sector, and last but not least agriculture, which is developing into a branch of applied science to no lesser a degree than industry.

Science, which is an essential motive force of this development, becomes at the same time its subject: The revolutionary changes which are starting at present in engineering and in the training of engineers are only a part of and the beginning of a far more comprehensive development. Without losing their peculiarities, the arts too will use the new technical possibilities; video technology or computer graphics—to give some examples—are indications of new technical possibilities which can contribute to enriching the arts.

The gathering speed of the scientific-technological revolution implies that the struggle for top positions in science and finally in production is a race against time in the true sense of the word.

Wait-and-see attitudes or the opinion that the struggle to implement key technologies is some form of temporary phenomenon would put considerable obstacles into the way of implementing our economic strategy. The point of orientation of scientific-technological and economic performances must be the highest international level; any other standard anticipates average achievements.

To this end it is important to master the entire cycle of science, production, and sale. It would be wrong to accord "decisive" importance to a single one of its stages. The entire chain—from the advance research to immediate production and sale—must be stable, otherwise the desired and required final result cannot be reached; this too is a consequence of the complicated character of a technological development that is in accordance with the scientific-technological revolution.

### Social Effects

The new dimensions of the development of productive forces make the question of social aims, conditions, and effects of the scientific-technological progress a cardinal problem. Every attempt to deal with the scientific-technological revolution outside the dialectic of productive forces and production conditions must lead to mistakes.

It is not only a question of applying key technologies. They are, rather, the means to achieve a certain end, means to develop socialism's productive forces more quickly in order to achieve better economic and social effects.

The intensified application of CAD/CAM [computer-aided design/computer-aided manufacture] technology considerably raises the productive force of human labor and makes it possible to utilize intellectual potential much more effectively than before for the economic growth of the national economy.

Due to the achievements of man himself, who is and remains the main productive force, the process of comprehensive intensification gains a new quality. There are two factors that have to be taken into particular consideration:

1. The full development of the existing intellectual potential;
2. Making the people increasingly capable and qualified to solve the tasks they face in mastering the new stage of the development of socialism's productive forces.

This modern development in our country is not enforced against the will of the working people, but by they themselves, and with their full cooperation.

The political, propagandist, and theoretical literature of the Western world is filled with the idea of presenting technology as something contradictory. It always talks about the Janus face of technology which in itself could be a curse or a blessing. It is easy to note the intention of conservative theoreticians and politicians: Social insecurity and mass unemployment, loss of work content and tendencies to reduce qualifications, social isolation in the work process and mounting fear of technology—all this is said to be the fault of technology itself in order to release the capitalist production conditions from their responsibility. In contrast to such inadequate attempts, it is precisely nowadays that Marx' insight that one must strictly differentiate between the possibilities of technology and the effects of its capitalist application is gloriously confirmed.

Of course, the dialectic of productive forces and production conditions does not only apply to the capitalist society; it also applies to the socialist society, but with totally different contents. It was stressed at the 11th party congress that in future, too, we will shape socialist production conditions in such a way that they will promote the dynamic development of productive forces in the interest of strengthening socialism.

Looking at the changes in productive forces in an isolated way would be contradictory to our Marxist-Leninist opinion that productive forces develop only within the framework of certain economic and social relationships, that is, certain production conditions.

The dialectic of productive forces and production conditions also includes not adjusting production conditions to the requirements of the development of productive forces after the event, but shaping them in time so that they act as the decisive motive force. The establishment and consolidation of the combines, the deepening of cooperation relations in agriculture, the linking of science and production, or the continuous improvement of management, planning, and economic cost accounting prove the active and creative work of our party in the timely development of production conditions.



Under socialist conditions, the scientific-technological revolution puts high demands on the creativity and performance capacity of all classes, strata, and social groups. In our society, where nobody can appropriate the results of another person's work and where scientific-technological progress is deliberately aimed at the welfare of the people, all classes and strata are interested in technological progress and in an ensuing stable economic growth.

The joint nature of underlying interests and collective team work to solve joint tasks characterize the nature of socialist social conditions and the main social motive force of our societal development. At the same time, the specific tasks which are tackled by the classes, strata, and social groups in the overall process of development form the objective foundation for historically progressive social particularities that serve the development of motive forces. The equality of social interests and aims and the specific tasks of the workers class, the cooperative peasants, intelligentsia, craftsmen, and small businessmen give rise to the dialectic of common factors and particularities, which characterizes the nature of the development and coming together of the classes and strata in our society.

It must not be overlooked, of course, that in our republic, too, certain results of modern science and technology bring about discussions about the social effects and usefulness of certain technologies. I recall the discussion that was carried on between writers and scientists in SINN UND FORM about the advantages and disadvantages of genetic engineering, or the concerns of many citizens about the environmental damage caused by air and water pollution. These are doubts and fears that deserve to be dealt with. We can always proceed from the premise that socialism in no way permits any anti-human utilization of such technologies as genetic engineering. And, in the spirit of our party program, we can point out that the protection of nature and the environment is one of those tasks that, rooted in numerous laws and supported by many citizens' initiatives, are put in the front ranks in the shaping of the developed socialist society and in developing the socialist way of life.

#### The Role of the Workers Class

Of great importance for the further development of socialist social conditions is the fundamental process of the scientific-technological revolution: the radical change in information-processing technology, which is closely linked with automation. Whereas the industrial revolution of the past affected manual and energy relations between worker, instrument, and product, we now have to deal with intellectual operations that are opened up to technology. Not only physical but also intellectual functions that can be formularized are being increasingly transferred to technology.

This has not been without effect on the structure and profile of the workers class. Wherever top modern technology is prepared, introduced into, and applied in the production process the intellectual-creative elements of work increase. This is clearly shown in the introduction of pervasive CAD/CAM solutions. Actions to prepare, control, maintain, and plan work become more and more the functions of the direct producer.



Since, however, top modern and traditional technological conditions exist at the same time (among other things, because we have to concentrate our strength on focal tasks), the workers class becomes more differentiated in the long run, something that is connected with the degree of modernity of the instruments. We should also not forget another circumstance in painting the picture of the modern workers class that masters the scientific-technological revolution: the lasting, and in many cases actually increasing, importance of manual work; just let us think of the consequences resulting from the construction sector from the rising importance of preserving the value of and reconstructing the existing building stock.

From time to time one still finds models linking the picture which we paint of the workers class with the term "performing activities" (in contrast to management activities, which are considered to be the domain of the intelligentsia). Such concepts and models are becoming more and more outdated. Of course, not everyone is a manager--but in the direct work process itself the demands on independence and initiative, on creativity and the worker's own responsibility are rising. Introducing new technological solutions into material production requires active and constructive participation on the part of the workers, engineers, scientists, and leading cadres. A new type of personality is developing as a precondition for and consequence of top modern technology, a person who is open-minded toward innovations and actively works for them.

A creative attitude is necessary in every stage of the scientific-production cycle: from the probing advance research to the maintenance and repair of technical systems. It is sufficient to take a closer look at the personality type of the worker in modern inhouse production of rationalization means in order to understand the decisive importance accorded today to a creative attitude and a creative performance on the part of the workers class. Thus, excellent attitudes urging progressive changes at the workplace, in work organization, or in technology are not a source of trouble but an important part of socialist democracy, which has to be promoted everywhere. This applies to the individual enterprise, to the combine, as well as to the entire society.

We are thus turning against any attempt to deduce from the scientific-technological revolution new arguments for the reactionary concept of the allegedly diminishing importance of the workers class. The workers class is and remains the main political and social force--also in the process of the socialist mastering of the scientific-technological revolution--as is laid down in our party's program. However, it would be detrimental to underestimate the increasing responsibility of all other social groups that are participating in the entire cycle. One can, indeed, speak about a new quality in the development and coming together of the classes and strata in the GDR. The collectivity and team work inherent in socialist production conditions are developing at a higher level as a precondition for and a consequence of the modern productive forces.

## Our Values

As experience shows, particularly in the enterprises and sectors that are pioneers in the struggle for the broad development and application of modern technology, in our country there is an active, constructive relationship toward scientific-technological progress, which can be expressed in the following question: How can we advance this progress more quickly, how can we raise its economic and social productivity? But it is clear that many objective and subjective preconditions are necessary for this, that this means a high demand on the quality of management, planning, and political leadership in each process. At the same time, this results in a great demand on the individual himself, on his courage, determination, and willingness to struggle, and last but not least also on his readiness to make great efforts. There are new demands on creativity and imagination, on personal consistency and determination, on the capability to cooperate, and on the willingness to continue learning and, if necessary, change one's own work situation and accept new tasks.

In this connection the even more effective establishment and propagation of the achievements, values, and advantages of socialism, which was demanded in the report to the 11th party congress, increasingly gains ideopolitical importance. Social security of the individual, as a concrete expression of socialist humaneness, as a characteristic of the socialist way of life, is one of the decisive values in our society. This value determines the life of everyone, no matter which class or strata he belongs to, whether he is only preparing for work, already working, or already looking back on a full life. Social security finds its expression in the strict implementation of the basic human rights that are laid down in our Constitution, and in the impressive results of the comprehensive sociopolitical measures.

The values are an expression of our society's real humanism. They should be brought to bear even more on the active and dedicated participation in and contribution to solving social problems. The values of socialism lead to siding with innovations, with the defense and development of achievements, and lead to putting oneself, in a responsible manner, in connection with the whole to achieve this, and to derive from this aspects and meaning that enrich one's personal life.

Often one is asked about the relationship between the ideal situation and reality. The reality of socialism does not correspond with the ideal situation or the ideal situation cannot actually be realized, it is said. I think that we have to give a very clear answer to this question that does not overlook anything which has already been achieved and does not gloss over anything which still has to be put in order.

We are justified in saying that we have realized many ideals of the revolutionary workers movement. The first place goes to the existence of the socialist worker-peasant state on German soil itself. At present we are implementing a sociopolitical program, whose focal point is the solution of the housing question as a social problem, a task which has not been tackled by any government or any party in Germany before us. With our education

system we have created equal opportunities for education for all children. We have guaranteed the right to work. Thus, we could list many achievements and performances which are a realization of socialist and humanist ideals.

But this does not mean that everything has already been done, that there is not much in daily life, in relations between people, in the relationship of the leaders to the citizens, in intellectual and cultural life which is a contradiction to the ideals and objectives of socialism. But, as is known, we are not resigned to these contradictions. All our efforts are directed at shaping socialism in such a way that all citizens consider this social system to be an order established by themselves and actively participate in building it. Socialism serves the welfare of the people--this principle is implemented by achievements in carrying out the decisions of the 11th party congress. Because of this reality increasingly conforms with the objectives and ideals laid down in our party's program.

### Confirmation From History

Comrades: In 1913 Lenin published in PRAVDA the article "The Historic Fate of Karl Marx' Teaching," which begins with the assertion: "The most important thing in Marx' teaching is that it makes clear the role of the proletariat in world history as the creator of the socialist society." And Lenin asks: "Has the course of events all over the world confirmed this teaching as it is expressed by Marx?" (Footnote 9) (V.I. Lenin, "The Historic Fate of Karl Marx' Teaching." In: "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1985, p 17)

Lenin's question can be fully answered with yes. History has confirmed in an unprecedented way that Marx' teachings are correct.

In his article Lenin describes the development of Marxism from the small Communist League, which represented one socialist movement among many, to the formation of socialist mass parties with a proletarian basis, such as German social democracy where, however, opportunism and revisionism also spread. Nevertheless, Lenin was able to say: "Slowly but surely the process of collecting and uniting the forces of the proletariat, or preparing them for the future battles is progressing." (Footnote 10) (Ibid., p 19)

This period was introduced by the Russian revolution of 1905 and by the revolution in China, which led to the establishment of the Chinese Republic in 1911 under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen. Lenin wrote about the development in Asia: "Whatever may be the fate of the great Chinese Republic, against which the various 'civilized' hyenas are now baring their teeth, no power in the world will reestablish the old regime of soggage in Asia, will be able to wipe out on earth the heroic democratic spirit of the people's masses in the Asian and semi-Asian countries." (Footnote 11) (Ibid., p 20)

As is known, this prediction proved true. And what Lenin wrote after analyzing the revolutionary storms and movements at the beginning of our century has also come true: "But the coming historic era will bring even greater triumph for Marxism as the teaching of the proletariat." (Footnote 12) (Ibid.)



A few years after this prediction the Great October Socialist Revolution was victorious in Russia. Under the leadership of Lenin's party, the party of the Bolsheviks, a worker-peasant state was established for the first time in history. In the CPSU program adopted at the 27th party congress it says: "The Great October Socialist Revolution was the turning point of world history, it determined the main directions and basic tendencies of world development. It introduced the irresistible process of substituting capitalism with a new, the communist socioeconomic formation." (Footnote 13) (CPSU Program, NOVOSTI, Moscow, 1985, p 12)

Under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution the Communist Party of Germany and other communist parties were established, which united in the Communist International.

After the destruction of Hitlerite fascism by the Soviet Union and its allies in the anti-Hitler coalition, the socialist world system began to develop, which comprises many countries in Europe and Asia, as well as Cuba. Within this framework, the Soviet Union, the GDR, the PPR, the CSSR, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania formed the community of socialist states which is united in the Warsaw Pact.

In order to understand the processes which characterize our century it is important to know that capitalism, which at the beginning of the 20th century ruled unrestrainedly all over the world, has lost decisive positions. In addition to the strengthening of socialism this is expressed by the fact that the majority of the peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, who in 1890 still lived in colonial or semicolonial dependence, have gained their national and state independence. Numerous national states have been established, some of which have embarked on the socialist path of development. While capitalism has lost ground, the area of socialism and of the nationally liberated states, the developing countries, has steadily expanded.

Our time is the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism, the period of social and national liberation of peoples on a worldwide scale. Of course, this epoch is not a short one, it comprises a longer historical period which will certainly reach far into the 21st century. One thing is certain: All states and peoples are incorporated into the process of social change. This is also expressed in the fact that apart from further strengthening socialism and the young national states, broad movements of the workers class and the other working people for work and bread, for democracy, freedom, and national independence, for peace and socialism have developed in the countries of the capital, in the United States as well as in Western Europe, in the Far East as well as in Latin America--movements which are steadily gaining strength and participate in determining the revolutionary process all over the world. In about 100 countries there exist communist parties, which are often struggling under the most difficult conditions.

Thus, the historical development since the publication of the Communist Manifesto is the best proof for the correctness, vitality, and farsightedness of scientific socialism and at the same time the irrevocable result of the world-changing activities of the workers class and its revolutionary vanguard under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.



## Bankruptcy of Anti-Marxism

The importance of this historical confirmation of our scientific ideology can also be seen in the fact that the bourgeoisie and their followers leave nothing undone to stop the advance of the revolutionary movement and to counteract the influence of Marxism-Leninism.

As is known the Communist Manifesto begins with the words: "A specter is haunting Europe--the specter of communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this specter: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French radicals and German police spies." (Footnote 14) (Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, p 5)

Today, 138 years after the publication of the Communist Manifesto, the struggle against communism has not abated in the least; quite on the contrary, the attempts to refute Marxism-Leninism, even to eliminate it, have reached an inconceivable scope. The hosts of official Marx killers are joined by revisionists and traitors to socialism who have deserted to the other side of the barricade and are earning their traitor's reward with a variety of pamphlets that declare Marxism finally dead.

If one were to need still another proof that scientific socialism is the most powerful ideological and political force of the present, this proof is provided by the yell of rage of socialism's enemies, who even openly announce their objective to destroy socialism, as was done by the U.S. Administration, and to throw Marxism on the trash heap of history.

But what all enemies of Marxism-Leninism, from Hitler to today's devourers of communists, will never understand is the fact that our scientific ideology cannot be destroyed. It expresses the efforts and interests of the people who are exploited and oppressed by capital, in the same way as those of the builders of the new, socialist society.

The impossibility of eradicating Marxism-Leninism from the world can be shown by an example. In the controversy between the Papal Curia and so-called liberation theology in Latin America, the official church and its Catholic social doctrine propagandize a humane capitalism, which is to be characterized by justice and human dignity. In this connection the FRG magazine MERKUR published the following critical remarks of Latin American priests who are close to the people: "Although capitalism itself is an advocate of human rights which breaks all feudal chains and indeed makes the individuals free and equal, it does so only in terms of their quality as proprietors of goods. Those who have nothing to offer but their own person--that is, the overwhelming majority--are free to sell themselves as labor at heteronomous conditions or to perish. And those who are able to buy labor because they possess the producer goods for which they can use this labor are free to make more profit from this labor than they pay for it, or to go bankrupt." (Footnote 15) (Christoph Tarke, "Half-Measures" in MERKUR, August 1986, p 644)

In other words, Marx' discoveries concerning the capitalist way of production, the pressure on the worker to sell his labor, and the production of surplus value are still absolutely valid—and not only in Latin America.

### Theory and Practice

In the Central Committee report to the 11th party congress Erich Honecker paid tribute to the achievements of the GDR's social sciences with respect to theory and practice, and at the same time outlined the new tasks that are laid down in the 1986-90 central plan of socioscientific research.

Sometimes the question arises—whether it is expressed aloud or not—whether we are really serious concerning the demand for new research results which do not simply confirm and interpret practice, but change it in a positive way. The party gives a clear answer to that by not demanding "caution" but courage and creativity in tackling and solving new proposals for finding solutions are submitted. Otherwise this is not research.

Of course, the social scientist has to face that his results and proposals are not accepted, or that they are—justly or unjustly—criticized. First, social scientists can be wrong and can make mistakes. Second, it can happen that those who are to apply the research results do not have the right attitude toward this, that they feel "inconvenienced." Those who try not to cause annoyance to anyone should, as far as possible, not meddle with research; research always means "inconveniencing" somebody in a productive way. New scientific insights very often lead to the consequence that something has to be done in a different way than so far, that innovations must gain ground against previous habits, even against things that have stood the test of time. It is certain that in practice, too, the willingness to accept socioscientific results is not fully developed everywhere. But it is the task of social scientists to convince—through their achievements—the practical workers of the great usefulness of theory by broaching really new questions, submitting new insights, and offering new, practicable solutions.

Finally, for the social sciences as well as for the party's entire policy it is true that we are not judged by words but by results, by the way we safeguard and strengthen socialism's political stability and economic dynamism in the center of Europe. This is our national and international duty.

We can say with a clean conscience: The guidelines provided by the 11th party congress are the result of carefully analyzing the achievements as well as the requirements; they are the result of conscientiously studying what we have to do to preserve peace and to further shape developed socialism in accordance with the concrete conditions and specific requirements of our country, what we have to do in line with these above-mentioned conditions to effectively promote the political stability and economic dynamism of the GDR and the socialist community, and thus be able to continue forcefully the course aimed at the welfare of the people. This is based on a realistic and sober analysis of the fact that we have to carry out our struggle at the borderlines between the two world systems, facing the strongest military power of NATO. This is a very sensitive spot of world events, a very

sensitive nerve of world politics, which we have to take into consideration with respect to the content and the methods of our policy.

Concerning our party's style of work and leadership, our method is and remains to proceed from the achievements and successes. This applies not only to anniversaries but is a general experience and guideline. Activity and confidence in victory are strengthened by creating the awareness of what has already been achieved, by at the same time comparing the achievements with the things that have still to be achieved and that are achievable, and by deriving the stimulus for one's actions from this difference, this dialectic contradiction. Based on these methods we productively carry on the polemics with respect to deficiencies, lagging behind, and old habits.

We categorically adhere to the socialist principle of performance. In the area of science this principle has to be applied even more strictly. Our method is the farsighted orientation toward best achievements. We find out who is the best and who is lagging behind by measuring by the highest standard and by the requirements of progressive development, and by means of a precise comparative performance appraisal, which is also critical process. We have to speak openly about various matters in the scientific collectives, not only about the successes, but also about the deficiencies and setbacks. What we need is not a general talk about top performances in science but a specific evaluation of the individual positions. When Comrade Erich Honecker says that the things achieved are not yet those achievable, this is a call for self-critical thought and action!

Marxist-Leninist basic study at our universities and colleges is facing great tasks. More than ever before, Marxism-Leninism is being used as an ideological orientation, because the role of awareness increases, because committed support for scientific-technological progress, for the implementation of our social strategy, and for the GDR's policy to preserve peace calls for revolutionary, scientifically founded thought and action.

The art of presenting basic questions of Marxism-Leninism today consists in giving convincing answers, on the reliable basis of scientific socialism, to new, urgent questions of theory and practice. In this connection the basic study always appeals to all students and should also reach all students in order to influence their thought and action in the spirit of an active attitude to life in favor of socialism.

The new teaching program is a challenge to any university teacher and scientific staff member of basic study. Its implementation makes it possible to decisively increase the theoretical level and the political efficiency of teaching and studying Marxism-Leninism at the universities and colleges. For this the interdisciplinary work of the representatives of the three basic studies is of great importance in order to ensure that our ideology is understood as a uniform whole.

We know very well the great importance of the university teacher, in particular in Marxist-Leninist basic study. Unlike any other teacher he is challenged as a propagandist, teacher, and researcher, for the students he directly

represents our ideology through his personal attraction, his loyalty to principles, his commitment to science and politics, his character. Teachers of Marxism like Franz Mehring and Hermann Duncker will forever be examples for us. They represented these features.

The Marxism-Leninism departments should display more courage than so far in transferring challenging tasks in education and research as well as state and social functions to the young cadre generation. Even more efforts are necessary to obtain the future scientific generation for the basic study of Marxism-Leninism from out of the ranks of future graduates of other social sciences studies, as well as experienced cadres from practice.

On behalf of the Central Committee, I wish all comrades in the Marxism-Leninism departments much success in implementing the tasks resulting from the new teaching program.

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CSO: 2300/97



## FUNERAL FOR UNIATE BISHOP HELD IN BARN

Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 9 Dec 86 p 12

[Article by Nicolette Franck: "The Romanian Uniates Make a Church Out of a Barn"]

[Excerpts] Romanian Bishop Ioan Dragomir, of the Greek-Catholic Church, is dead. In the publication CATACOMBES-MESSAGER SUPRACONFESSIONEL DE L'EGLISE DU SILENCE Mgr Octavian Barlea, rector of the Romanian Greek-Catholic mission in the FRG, gives a portrait of Bishop Dragomir and presents the circumstances of the life and death of this martyr prelate.

The Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, known as the Uniate Church, was banned in 1948. Its more than 1½ million faithful were compulsorily listed as members of the Orthodox Church and the great majority of the clergy, who refused to renounce the Catholic faith, were put into prison. Mgr Ioan Dragomir, the bishop of Maramures, spent 14 years in prisons and detention camps. When he was released, he was ordered not to practice his ministry. Frustrating traps and surveillance, he not only maintained close contacts with church members and intellectuals in the country but also ordained some priests and, before he died at the age of 80, consecrated three bishops.

The news of his death was conveyed to Rome by the vicar general of Maramures, Mgr Cristian. John Paul II had Mgr Agostino Casaroli send a telegram addressed, cautiously, to the Romanian apostolic administrator (the Romanian Catholic Church is recognized by the Romanian Government). It is said that the holy father celebrated a mass "for the zealous soul of the deceased bishop, beseeching God to reward one who had devoted all his efforts to the good of the church."

In Romania, the funeral took place under conditions which were significant in more than one respect. In accordance with his wishes, he was buried in the small cemetery of his native village, at Arinis, but the village church, formerly Uniate but now Orthodox, did not open its doors to him. Finally, since the family home was too small, it was necessary to have the funeral in a barn.

A big crowd of the faithful came and Uniate priests, without liturgical vestments--since the practice of the Uniate rite has been banned--were in an

impressive number. Some 116 underground prelates insisted upon accompanying their bishop to his final resting place. When the "Prohod," the requiem in the Romanian Eastern Rite Church, resounded in the barn, more than one of the priests prayed that the struggle and the fidelity of the martyr Dragomir, and their own struggle would one day be victorious.

After this funeral, there was another one: that of the Romanian Orthodox Church Patriarch Justin Moisescu. This ardent servant of the government had the right to a magnificent funeral. His successor, the metropolitan of Moldavia, Teoctist Arpasu, has just been "elected" by his peers and "confirmed" by President Ceausescu. His fame is great, not because of his faith, but because of his servitude to the government.

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CSO: 2900/9

## PARIS SOURCE REPORTS CREATION OF OPPOSITION PARTY

Paris LIBERATION in French 19 Jan 87 p 17

[Article by V.S.: "The Underground Forms a Party"]

[Text] They have been meeting on the occasion of harmless gatherings--birthdays, Sunday excursions, etc. They are known by their pseudonyms and they write their leaflets by hand, out of fear of being recognized because of their typewriters. As a final precaution, in order to announce to the West the creation of their opposition party, they called upon a specialist in graphology to make the handwriting unrecognizable and they used the old system of orthography.

The 13 underground signatories of the text, which reached the West last month and announced the creation of Romanian Democratic Action, state that, for the most part, they are young and are not part of any open dissident movement. Their objectives try to be modest and realistic: "To undermine and destroy the communist regime in the course of time and to uphold the idea of democracy."

This 40-page letter-program would have passed by unnoticed if some reports from Romania had not noted, simultaneously, the appearance of leaflets in several cities, signed by the same party. These texts, written by hand and placed in mailboxes, call on the people to "demonstrate" by staying home on 23 January, an anniversary ostentatiously celebrated by the regime.

In this country, one of the few countries in the East, along with Bulgaria, which has not had any organized dissident movement, the least sign of opposition has a very high cost. One remembers young Radu Filipescu who was distributing anti-regime tracts all by himself in residential buildings and who was sentenced to 10 years in prison.

/6091

CSO: 2900/9

## BRIEFS

CHIEF EDITOR OF YOUTH PAPER--Bucharest PRESA NOASTRA in Romanian No 10-11, 1986, page 51, publishes a report on the Tenth Congress of the International Organization of Journalists held in Sofia, by Ion Strugariu, chief editor of SCINTEIA TINERETULUI. Emil Marinache had previously been identified as chief editor of this paper, the organ of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth. [Editorial Report] /6091

CSO: 2700/127



## ACTIONS OF ALBANIAN NATIONALISTS IN TETOVO DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Dec 86 p 7

[Article by N. Batkoski and J. Buleski: "Lenient Sentences for Silence"]

[Text] Concerning the increasingly frequent reports about party punishments for "unvigilant" participants in weddings and other celebrations in the Tetovo area, Vaso Spasevski, chairman of the Tetovo Opstina Committee of the LC, has pointed to the uncompromising drive being conducted in all basic organizations of the LC. This campaign has encountered the approval and broad support of the masses. Party members who are Albanians must above all be involved in straightening out the overall situation in this area, but the other subjective forces must also be involved.

Afrim Sinani, executive secretary of the presidium of the opstina committee, along with all the other top leaders of sociopolitical organizations in Tetovo have been out in the field in recent days. They have been rushing from meeting to meeting. Basic organizations of the LC in Strimnica, the "Josip Broz Tito" Elementary School in the village Zelino, the basic organization of the LC in the local community in the same village as well as in the agricultural cooperative, in the basic organization of the local community "Brotherhood" in Tetovo, in the "Kiril Pejcinovic" High School, the opstina court, and the textile training center, the opstina assembly, the medical center, the elementary school in the village Celopek, in "Elektropolog," and elsewhere, whose members have attended weddings—have been discussing the accountability of their own members.

Sinani has in fact taken part in many of these organizations: "Organizations of the LC are not pronouncing ideological-political measures against party members because they attended the weddings, but because many of these party members were actual participants or organizers of nationalistic demonstrations. Because they were silent for a long time and covered up this unseen outpouring of Albanian nationalism and separatism, whereby they entered into solidarity with the enemy. Ideological-political actions are being carried out everywhere to establish responsibility. In some places the measures pronounced are too lenient. We have taken the position that the higher the party member's position, the greater his accountability. For instance, the demonstration (in Strimnica) was attended not only by the teachers, but also by an investigating judge, the deputy principal of the 'Kiril Pejcinovic' High

School, the secretary of the opstina conference of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers, along with many others who hold responsible positions in the opstina. People are demanding harsher ideological-political measures. In the village Zelino people publicly stated in a meeting of the basic organization of the LC that they no longer will allow their children to study and be indoctrinated by teachers who in this manner have openly displayed their lack of confidence and their opportunism. It would be better, they said, for our children to remain unschooled than to be educated in a spirit of nationalism," Sinani said.

#### Threats Against Those Who Stand Firm

In such times it is most difficult for party members of the Albanian nationality. Afrim Sinani has often received threats in these gatherings from those against whom the LC, consistent with the obligations contained in its bylaws, has pronounced expulsion and other party penalties. The Albanian nationalists obviously want to create an atmosphere of fear so that people will not take a position.

The political campaign being conducted by the socialist forces in Tetovo is also being hampered by the fact that it is not known where the hostile activity comes from or how it will be displayed. It is said that the political action is just beginning and that for the moment it is still reacting only when incidents and hostile demonstrations occur.

In Tetovo and environs the houses are enclosed behind high concrete walls. This is yet another piece of evidence of the distrust, of the atmosphere of fear of the confined nationalistic consciousness and conscience whose roots go back a long time and which even today have been growing behind some of these walls. The children have been separate from their early years in the schools, in the kindergartens, and in athletic, cultural, and artistic societies. There are divisions even in the evening promenade of the townspeople. Moreover, the inexorable statistics say that at this time there are fewer mixed marriages in this community than there were immediately after the war.

The "celebration of marriages" in Tetovo, to which we have devoted these articles, is otherwise rather similar to the way marriages are celebrated in Kicevo and other places in western Macedonia, and in many elements are even reminiscent of a morbid funeral in the village Raven near Gostivar.

Not long ago flags of the Albanian and Turkish minorities were set on fire in Tetovo. No one is able to say who did this, but it is clear that the problem does not lie only in flags, but in backwardness, in the people who make bad use of them. It is not just the Macedonians, the Turks, the Gypsies, the Montenegrins, and the Serbs who have suffered injury from Albanian separatism.... The greatest injury has been suffered by the Albanian nationality, on which a serious blot has been cast and which in the atmosphere of uncertainty has been withdrawing more and more and shutting itself off in the traditional fetters from which not long ago it had begun to emerge.

This is perhaps best indicated by the example that "Teteks" of Tetovo has to look for manpower all over the republic even though there are 20,000 unemployed Albanian women in Tetovo. This is clear to the progressive forces, and they are certain that the march toward progress cannot be halted. Which is why optimism rightly prevails here both within the opstina committee and among all citizens to the effect that the enemy will meet his downfall sooner or later.

But there is no doubt that in the campaign being conducted the "example" set by the wedding in Strimnica must be taken with the greatest seriousness.

#### Differing Reactions of Those Who Were Present

Weddings and funerals are two moments and occasions when the people of this dynamic time must meet. This is a sentence, for example, that has often been uttered in a meeting of the LC in the Tetovo District Court, when the judges who had attended the wedding in Strimnica explained how they came to be at that wedding.

"No one told us beforehand that this would involve an expression of nationalistic euphoria, nor could this have been supposed from any of the initial external signs (the decorations, for example, included the Yugoslav, Macedonian, and Albanian flags, as well as a picture of Comrade Tito)." "Afterward, however, it did turn out," said Judge Nehat Ismaili, "that that was not the case. The nationalistic euphoria was manifested in the fact that those present reacted differently when certain songs were sung. For example, a song about the soccer player Fadil Vokri was warmly applauded (nor is applause customary at weddings of Albanian hosts in Macedonia). And when a song about Tito was sung, a certain Miljain shot up two clips from his gun. Our lack of vigilance and presence at the wedding, however, must not be termed nationalism, since both as a judge and as a member of the party I have proven myself on several occasions in the fight against Albanian nationalism and separatism."

Muamer Visko, editor-in-chief of the Albanian-language service broadcast over Radio Skoplje, said: Since he had been appointed to that position in Radio Skoplje he had listened to the entire record library of Albanian popular tunes and folksongs.

"I have listened to more than 1,000 records, 260 of which had nationalistic or national-romantic content. It is interesting that the records were made over the last 20 years or so. A fair portion of the songs came directly from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania either as a record or a tape at a time when many of our cultural and artistic societies went to Albania and when Albanian teachers came here. Some of the songs were recorded by Radio Tirana, by "Balkanton" in Sofia, by our own "Jugoton," and by other record companies. Cultural and artistic societies in which the majority of the members are of Albanian nationality, even some which are not registered and whose activity was not confined to their own communities and opstinas, but also extended to other places in SR Macedonia and SAP Kosovo, as is the case with the group "Drita" from the village Livada or "Ziza" from Kicevo, also recorded tapes at Radio Skoplje. As for the repertoire, the situation was no better at all at

local radio stations broadcasting in the Albanian language. These are the radio stations in Kumanovo, Tetovo, Kicevo, Gostivar, Struga, and Resen. There were cases when out of more than 600 recordings of popular songs and folk music only 30 or so had been on commercial sale," Visko said.

#### Substitution of Names

The song "The Myth of the Eagle," for example, Visko said, says that "all Albanians are eagles, and it is well known that the eagle is a bird which flies high." It is not, of course, a question of such verses being harmful, but it should be said that the nationalists usually use them in order to emphasize separation from other nationalities and ethnic minorities. The most obvious example of how the nationalists use records and tapes is the song about Enver Hoxha which sung in Albania. Both in its content and its musical composition it was taken over completely. Except that instead of Enver the song mentions Fadil Hodza, which constitutes a deliberate abuse of the name of this revolutionary of ours. The song even refers to the young imprisoned Albanians from "Drac to Sijak." When the nationalists sing this today, it refers to those convicted of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, and thus the music and the song emphasize the dissatisfaction of the people. The reference is, of course, to different periods. But it is one thing when those songs were sung earlier, and this sounds differently today, when the counterrevolution is still attempting to strike a blow against our society.

[Box, Col 2]

#### Weddings as They Were and Now

"The weddings of families of Albanian nationality in Macedonia were always modest in their characteristics both in earlier periods and also today when they are done in the conventional way, usually in rural areas. There are many customs observed both by the bride and by the groom. Lyrical songs and folk-songs are mainly sung, the virgin's lament (the bride is sad to be leaving her birthplace), and so on," says Leontina Gega, a researcher of Albanian folklore at the "Marko Cepenkov" Folklore Institute in Skoplje. "Now, however, customs have changed quite a bit, weddings are held in the modern way in hotels and at home. Men and women sit down together, the bride wears wedding clothes and comes out for everyone to see her."

[Box, Col 4]

#### Warnings

Two basic organizations of the League of Communists at the Tetovo High School have discussed the accountability of their members who attended a wedding in Strumica, since they concealed and covered up this hostile demonstration. The ideological-political measure of last warning was pronounced against the deputy principal of the high school Jasar Kasimi, and the teachers Alibebi Abdulalau and Talat Ademi, bookkeeper, were also given warnings. The ideological-political measure of comradely criticism was pronounced against the teacher Aljus Dzeladini.



Not long ago ideological-political differentiation also began concerning nationalistic demonstrations at a "festivity" in Kopacin Dol, where a group of musicians from Suva Reka (SAP Kosovo) also performed. The basic organization of the LC in that village pronounced the following ideological-political measures because of lack of vigilance and coverup: last warning against Asip Aziri, Jusuf Jasari, Raif Ali, who was relieved of his position as secretary of the basic organization of the LC, Idaet Jasari, Milaim Ali, Minir Kamberi, and Rufid Ali, and a warning was pronounced against five members.

7045

CSO: 2800/91

## SERBIA'S PROPOSALS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13-14 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by Dusan Drazic and Velisa Krsmanovic and box by Dj.B.: "Plain Talk About the Nine Changes"]

[Text] The Presidency of SR Serbia has proposed that nine normative paragraphs of the SFRY Constitution be corrected. Ivan Stambolic: The counter-revolution in Kosovo, separatism and exclusiveness, and other urgent problems demand that the open questions be resolved without postponement. "The so-called hide-and-seek has already aggravated many problems which are bothering the working class and citizens."

In late November the Presidency of SR Serbia sent a proposal to the SFRY State Presidency that normative revision of the constitutional status of SR Serbia be included in the initiative for amendment of the SFRY Constitution. This was made public last Thursday in a meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee and in a conversation between Nikola Ljubicic, member of the SFRY State Presidency, and newsmen from Belgrade television. There had been earlier intimations of this initiative.

After several years of analysis and discussion there have been very critical and courageous judgments made about how far we have come in carrying out the constitutional conceptions and principles on the foundations of further development of socialist self-management in Yugoslavia. In making this observation Ivan Stambolic, chairman of the Presidency of SR Serbia, explained in the best possible way why such a major move was made. We need specific answers and those solutions which will pull us out of the troubles we are in. The goal, then, is to fulfill the desires of the working class and citizens and finally come to the point of halting the divisions once and for all, so that all citizens have the same rights throughout the entire community.

#### There Must Be No Postponement

In the analysis which has just recently been taken up concerning achievement of unity and community in SR Serbia on the foundations of the Positions of the LCY Central Committee and the Program of the Serbian LC Central Committee one of the things mentioned is that if the constitutional position of the republic were worked out in a more fundamental way, this would finally remove the

disputes that have lasted several years concerning the uniform interpretation and application of the constitution as well as the pressures on overall political life and relations in the public, which at the same time have been opening up room for various unacceptable interpretations.

Any analysis of the implementation of the constitution will show that there are many issues and unresolved problems and some of them are extremely important and have been rightly pointed out by the chairman of the Presidency of SR Serbia. Some of the outstanding problems have brought so much attention that they simply do not brook any delay whatsoever. Aside from the exclusiveness, separatism, and divisions already mentioned, there are also the counterrevolution in Kosovo, the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins under pressure. All of this is of very great concern to the working class.

In the debate at the last meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee and a somewhat earlier speech by its chairman to the political activists in Kragujevac it was indicated very clearly that the proposed initiatives for amendment of the constitution do not for a moment nor in any segment infringe in any way on the self-management independence of the socialist autonomous provinces as this has already been regulated. It was reiterated once again on this occasion that SR Serbia must have the same status as the other republics. That is, it is not acceptable for there to be any separate step with respect to the rights, status, and role of the Republic of Serbia that would preserve the present elements of exclusiveness. In fighting for the unity of SR Serbia, we are at the same time fighting for the unity of the SFRY.

#### An Appearance of Unity

The reasons are also given as to why the particular constitutional provisions need to be changed: it is especially important for people and citizens to exercise their freedoms and rights guaranteed by the Constitutions of the SFRY and SR Serbia. Major problems have cropped up, especially in Kosovo. Because of the fragmented condition of the legal system and because republic authorities are unable to guarantee uniform legal protection of all citizens of the republic which must under the constitution be safeguarded, it is indispensable to create the constitutional and legal conditions so that every citizen of SR Serbia can demand and obtain protection from all judicial authorities in the republic. It is already quite well known that when they came to Belgrade the citizens from Kosovo were no longer seeking protection from the republic, but from the Federation, in order to point up their lack of equal rights. It is clear why they did so.

The third and equally important element is nationwide defense. It is well known that it is indivisible and that our community can only be as strong as its unity. Emphasis is also put on joint planning over the entire territory of the republic and on a number of other relations within the republic which have not been regulated. Incidentally, it is well known that there are differing interpretations of the provision of Article 300 of the Constitution of SR Serbia with respect to the existence and breadth of the basis for uniform legal regulation of relations in the republic; the positions taken by the authorities of the republic and provinces differ diametrically on most points,

which stands in the way of consistent performance of its constitutional functions. It has been mentioned, for example, that so far Article 301 of the Constitution of SR Serbia has been invoked only once: with enactment of the Law on the Railroads, although this constitutional provision offers much broader opportunities for uniform regulation of relations in SR Serbia.

Close observers of relations in the republic are also quite aware that even in meetings of the Presidency of SR Serbia, that is, the republic's supreme body, there often has not been agreement in assessments, and the differences have for all practical purposes remained in spite of apparently unanimous conclusions. Issues of common interest to the republic as a whole have also been debated in a similar manner in meetings of the National Defense Council and the Council for Protection of the System Established by the Constitution!

These were all reasons, then, why the Presidency of SR Serbia proposed correction of nine normative paragraphs of the SFRY Constitution which need to be uniformly interpreted and worked out in the same manner. In pointing up these proposals the chairman of the Presidency of SR Serbia warned in the last meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee that postponement is impermissible and that the hide-and-seek has already aggravated many already sensitive problems which directly affect the interests of the working people. We are convinced that everything we have done and are doing with the initiatives is on the line of the positions and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee.

#### Through Democratic Dialogue

There are also opposite views and positions to these and the other proposals related to the initiative concerning amendment of the constitution. Even in the very meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee members of that body from both provinces stated their dissenting opinions. In other words, they feel that no sort of changes at all are necessary at this point. That incidentally is also the position taken by the presidiums of the provincial committees of the League of Communists. The status of the province in the republic and Federation, as Rudi Sova said, is a political issue, that is, a political commitment that has been dealt with in constitutional law, that is, it is derived from that political commitment. The corresponding legal authorities derive in turn from that constitutional solution. This, he added, is a constitutional fact which has also been confirmed by the positions of the LCY, and this cannot be called into question. In the opinion of Azem Vlasí, it is difficult to talk about these issues now because of the adverse political climate which has been created by the business concerning the constitutional amendments. This kind of artificially created public climate and unnecessary tension over the constitutional amendments, he said, could have serious consequences, above all in the shaping of public opinion, but also as a whole, since the argument that Serbia only wants what the other republics have offers occasion for differing interpretations, from the position that it has been disenfranchised in the Federation all the way to its wanting a republic without provinces.



There obviously will continue to be differences of opinion, and they should be respected, since the entire discussion must take place in a democratic and tolerant atmosphere. Since it is a question of a very important political task, the debate must be responsible, well-argued, without political name-calling and labeling. However, any a priori rejection of discussion of the initiative to amend the constitution could restrict the possibility for the working people and citizens to state their position on everything. There will, of course, be resistance as well. Slobodan Milosevic, chairman of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, spoke about this in his concluding speech: "It does not seem natural for unity to come about through mutual conflicts and mistrust. But if even that is the way to establish unity, then let us also go through that, but just let there be unity. One thing is certain, the working class and the people in our republic do not stand behind the confrontations that have already been present for a long time now."

The people are called upon to take a position concerning the initiative for the various changes in the constitution. And the people should also be heard.

[Box]

#### The Principles Are Not in Dispute

The first report on the initiative of SR Serbia to have its constitutional status defined more clearly and consistently "leaked out" to the public a few days ago in newspaper reports about the conversation which one member of the Presidency of SR Serbia had with the political activ of an opstina in Belgrade. Following the meeting of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee the day before yesterday, the public has the impression--for which the media and newsmen are partly responsible--that this federal unit is seeking nine quite definite changes that would concern its constitutional status. This would in turn concern unity and community within it and its internal relations.

BORBA has attempted to find out whether nine amendments to the SFRY Constitution are actually being sought, which parts of the constitution itself they pertain to, and what and how much in them would actually be changed. Since this phase of the discussion of constitutional amendments--for altogether understandable reasons--still does not leave the confines of small circles of political figures and specialists, all we have been able to learn reliably is the following: the initiative of SR Serbia does not pertain at all to any altogether definite number of changes in the text of the constitution itself. That is, the number nine should not be related to any particular number or extent of the constitutional changes, since this is only the number of illustrations used in an attempt to support the basic premise on which the initiative was taken. And that is the belief that the constitutional status of the republics as federal units, and thereby of SR Serbia as well, as stated in the principles of the SFRY Constitution, has not in the case of SR Serbia been consistently implemented in all respects in what is referred to as the normative part of the "law of all laws" of the Yugoslav Federation which was adopted in 1974.

To be sure, we have also learned that the approximate name of the document in which the Presidency of SR Serbia has stated its preliminary position runs like this: Proposal that the question of consistency in expressing the fundamental status of SR Serbia in certain provisions of the normative part of the constitution be included in the initiative which the SFRY State Presidency is submitting to the SFRY Assembly for amendments in the SFRY Constitution.

This is rather legalistic and complicated in its language, but that is all that is more or less certain at this moment. All that could be learned in the intermissions of the meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee the day before yesterday. It is clear, then, that SR Serbia does not in any respect contest the principles of the SFRY Constitution, that it is not seeking revision of them in any manner, but is demanding only and exclusively that they be consistently elaborated--basically in the manner as in the case of the other republics--in those parts of the constitutional text in which those principles are developed, stated in specific terms, and spelled out.

Among the people in SR Serbia who have worked directly in shaping this initiative it has not been possible to verify exactly what has been written in this "Proposal," nor what and what sort of new solutions the government leadership of Serbia is advocating at this moment in the normative portion of the SFRY Constitution. Not even exactly what solutions in this part of our "law above laws" are regarded in this federal unit as not having been completely consistently derived from its principles. In a conversation with several people familiar with the constitutional subject matter but outside that official circle, we did learn that the objections of SR Serbia might have to do with Article 271, Paragraph 2, of the SFRY Constitution, which states that the republics and provinces shall cooperate with the agencies and organizations of other states and then to that article of the constitution in which it is set forth that consent of the republics and provinces is required to change the borders of the country, while it is spelled out in Article 5 of the general principles that the territory of the SFRY is made up of the territories of its six republics.

Also that the objections concerning the inconsistency between the constitutional principles and the parts in which they are elaborated might possibly also concern certain provisions in what is referred to as the "normative part of the constitution" which are said to actually "chop up" the territory of the republic into three parts and thereby reduce it to its more restricted territory. Finally, the experts in constitutional law we talked with hypothesize that in its "Proposal" the leadership of SR Serbia perhaps called for the federal constitution in future not to basically prejudice the functions which would not be uniform for the territory of its republic. In essence that it is possible that it call for the SFRY Constitution to mainly leave the regulation of that subject matter to the Constitution of SR Serbia.

7045  
CSO: 2800/90

## KINDS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES UNDER DISCUSSION

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 16 Dec 86 pp 9-12

[Article by Marinko Culic and comment by Dr Zdravko Tomac, professor: "Do We Need a Fifth Constitution"]

[Text] If the changes in the constitution are adopted in the SFRY Assembly, Yugoslavia will probably no longer look the same as it did yesterday, but that does not mean that we will have a fifth constitution, but that arrangements will be incorporated into the present one that will signify changes in the constitution, but not changes of the constitution.

In 10 days or so (24 December) the country's Presidency will come before the SFRY Assembly with a proposal for amendments in the SFRY Constitution. That will mark the beginning of what we might call the grand finale of the most extensive "housecleaning" in the constitution since that document was enacted (amendments to it have been passed in the meantime which sanction collective leadership, but they still do not bear comparison with the present changes).

In actuality the phrase "grand finale" is rather shaky, since it is difficult to foresee how much time it will take to conduct the public discussion of the Presidency's initiative, then to summarize it, and finally to draw from it the coordinates for specific changes in the country's fundamental legislative act. According to many, that will take at least a year, perhaps even 2, which means that the job of amending the constitution (initiated in 1982) might take 5 or perhaps even 6 years. But we will be having occasion to hear about that from the supporters of the argument that these constitutional amendments are evidence of how hopelessly divided and out of agreement we are (for those who are most impatient the most incriminating fact is that amendments in the constitution require consent of the republics and provinces, although that consensus about which there has been so much ado ought at least in this case to be freed of loud expressions of suspicion).

Nevertheless, those critics are right on one point. Namely, in our constitutional practice to date there has never been so much disagreement in diagnosis of the present situation in society, so many opposing case histories of (our one and the same) crisis. There has been no benefit at all to speak of from the fact that in the meantime two strategic documents for emerging from the crisis have been unanimously adopted (the Long-Range Economic Stabilization



Program and the Critical Analysis). It soon turned out that this was actually a "decorative" unanimity that "held so little water" that even after 4 years the question of what changes we need has not been altogether cleared up, nor indeed even the question of whether we need any at all. To be sure, officially everyone agrees about the maximum of possible changes (everything can be changed except the fundamental constitutional commitments--self-management, equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities, the conception of associated labor...). However, not everyone thinks alike even here, and recently there have been increasingly frequent and fierce responses from the republics and provinces which do not conceal the fact that different visions and even different strategies are involved. Thus little by little we have already become accustomed to living with differences (they have become an unwelcome, but increasingly appropriate addition to resolutions, which end with a section of issues "on which consensus was not reached"), but already there are those who think and believe that these disagreements are only a continuation of the same ones from the seventies, when the present constitution was being debated.

### Polarization

"The Roots of the Yugoslav Federation: How the Constitution Was Born" was the title of a feature article which Milos Misovic published in NIN of Belgrade; in it he wrote at length about those disagreements, emphasizing that they existed even in 1971 during the 30-day debate in the Coordinating Commission on Brioni (led by E. Kardelj), when the amendments were hammered out in which a new definition of the Federation was offered. Misovic writes among other things that the disagreements were caused by the phrasing to the effect that the views of the Coordinating Commission on the new status of the socialist autonomous provinces had been cleared with representatives of SR Serbia, which was "protested" by Najdan Pasic and Jovan Djordjevic, who said that agreement was reached "under the shadow of definite objections to one of those amendments." Since the transcripts of the Brioni meeting are not accessible to the public, we can only assume that Misovic has correctly interpreted its course and tone. But it is difficult to agree with the perhaps inadvertent argument that "Serbia proper" was subjected to pressure to consent to these changes. This argument is drawn from the oversimplified division of the participants in the debates at that time, from which it follows that on the one hand certain well-known names from the political life of the time--M. Tripalo, S. Kavcic, and K. Crvenkovski--were the most vociferous advocates of the constitutional amendments (moreover, "no one publicly opposed" their arguments), while on the other certain figures and institutions (N. Pasic, J. Djordjevic, the School of Law at Belgrade University) were set off with halos as wise prophets of the "crisis of the Federation." It just so happens that quite recently Professor Djordjevic himself confirmed in an interview with MLADOST that things were a bit more complicated than that. Djordjevic praises the constitutional theorists of the time at the School of Law of Belgrade University, but he immediately adds that in their midst there was also quite a bit of exaggeration "in the sense of defense of the Serbian nationality against others, and in fact one of them was even subject to criminal prosecution on those grounds."

As is evident, there may be quite a bit of one-sidedness and oversimplification in newspaper feature-writing, but still it certainly provides a good



illustration of how far the polarization has gone in the debate so far. Incidentally, this has been given even official confirmation with the already well-known division of initiatives and proposals for constitutional amendments into those "on which consensus has been reached," those "on which opinions differ," and those "which would not be acceptable or for which changes are not necessary." In the material of the Federal Council for Problems of the Social System entitled "Proposals, Opinions, and Suggestions for Changes in the SFRY Constitution," which was sent to the SFRY State Presidency, a fourth group of questions was added (on which consensus was reached that they should be taken under study). In its upcoming initiative the Presidency certainly will not be able to retain that kind of division, but will have to present the proposals which can be directly incorporated into the constitution. These are some 30 questions, above all in the field of socioeconomic relations and to a lesser extent concerning the sociopolitical system and other fields. In the opinion of Milerad Indjic, chairman of the Croatian Republic Council for the Social System, among the socioeconomic issues recently brought before the Constitutional Commission of the Croatian Assembly the greatest attention will be drawn to refinement of the conception of social ownership. In the debate so far emphasis has been put on the need to stress the responsibility of the workers in associated labor for more effective employment of social resources. A great deal of interest was also aroused by determination of the portion of income which is the result of exceptionally favorable circumstances, where the greatest resistance is aroused by the proposal that these resources be built up and distributed at the federal level. The position of the Republic Council of SR Croatia is that they be left with whoever earned them, but their purpose would merely be broadened, so that they might be used for development of science, to develop other segments of associated labor, etc. Among the other issues which might draw much attention Indjic mentioned the rights and duties of the Federation and the realization of common interests in the Federation. Closely related to this is creation of the unified Yugoslav market, on which the position of the Council of SR Croatia is that the present proposal "is only partially acceptable" because it envisages "an entire arsenal of antimarket measures" which cannot serve as a guarantee of any sort of market, much less a unified one.

#### Lack of Confidence

As is evident, relations in SR Serbia, which certainly have been one of the most contradictory issues in the debate to date, are not on the list of proposals presented by Indjic. But the Presidency will nevertheless concern itself with them. As far as we have been able to learn unofficially, a proposal that this matter be included in the constitutional amendments has already been sent to the Presidency of SR Serbia. Although the content of that "paper" has not been published, it is being conveyed on a large scale by word of mouth in the better-informed circles. It is said to insist that the constitutional definition of the territory of the SFRY in which only the republics, not the autonomous provinces, are mentioned be extended throughout the constitution. A similar demand is that the obligation of enforcing federal laws be established only for the republics, and when the question of the provinces arises, let this be left to the jurisdiction of SR Serbia. These two and several other proposals, in the interpretation of the proponents, are not contrary to

the basic constitutional principles (Articles 3 and 4) concerning the status of the republics and provinces. But according to certain assessments, these are proposals which will have difficulty passing. No one, it is said, questions that the constitutional positions of the republics vis-a-vis the provinces should be emphasized more emphatically, but this proposal for all practical purposes excludes the provinces from the federal constitution. If this were adopted, in practice this would mean that we have a supreme legislative act which speaks exhaustively about local communities and OOUR's, for example, but says nothing or speaks only in passing about the provinces, although they are incomparably larger and "more important" communities. That is why it is thought by some that the specific status of SR Serbia, which incidentally does not consist entirely of minuses, but also has some pluses (a larger number of delegates in the Federal Assembly), should be dealt with by amendments in the Constitution of SR Serbia (with consent of the autonomous provinces, of course), and that only then should an initiative be undertaken for amendments at the federal level.

Recent statements by certain officials of SR Serbia have emphasized several times that the fear of the centralistic ambitions of this republic is groundless, and this is accompanied by a firm statement of position to the effect that there are profound "historical, ethnic, and other grounds" for the equal status of the ethnic minorities and autonomous provinces. Yet attention is now being called to the possibility that this proposal of SR Serbia could awaken a new lack of confidence and suspicion in the provinces and that they might also turn to the collective head of state with their "own papers." Which undoubtedly only goes further in chaining together the disagreements which have already reached a high point on the scale, imposing themselves as the most important issue not confined to that federal unit alone. It should be recalled that representatives of the provinces have already emphasized on several occasions that the causes of the situation in SR Serbia should not be sought in normative solutions and that the backing is lacking in the current resolutions of the highest forums in the country for any possible major normative changes. Thus the Assembly of SAP Vojvodina issued an assessment about 1.5 months ago to the effect that additional work on the republic constitution as has been proposed in the Serbian Assembly would occur as the result of a one-sided initiative, which is contrary to the resolutions of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee on these matters.

Later representatives of "Serbia proper" described this position taken by the Vojvodina Assembly as an obstruction of unity and community in the republic, which in turn was answered by the Vojvodina leadership to the effect that "unity cannot be arrived at by decree, but can and must be built exclusively by democratic means." Certain historians are also continuing to make their own contribution to the accumulation of outstanding issues. Thus Desanka Pesic, director of the Institute for the History of the Working Class Movement of Serbia, recently declared that with respect to SR Serbia the "'constitutional conception' of 1974 did not remain faithful to and consistent with the decisions of AVNOJ." As is evident from the statement, there is still a dispute about the failure to adopt definitive decisions at Jajce concerning the autonomous provinces, and this, in the opinion of Desanka Pesic, has opened up a challenge to historical science, which "still does not have an answer" to

that question (a book by one of the most authoritative Yugoslav historians, Janko Pleterski, "Nacije--Jugoslavija--Revolucija" [The Nationalities--Yugoslavia--Revolution]), which exhaustively proves that what happened was merely that the war postponed the exercise of the legitimate rights of the nationalities and the ethnic minorities of Kosovo and Metohija and of Vojvodina, suggests a different conclusion and a different "reading" of history).

## Differences

There is no doubt that relations in SR Serbia, regardless of the outcome of its initiatives before the SFRY State Presidency, will continue to be one of the principal stumbling blocks in the current debates. But only a few weeks before the SFRY State Presidency is to submit the proposal of the constitutional amendments it unfortunately cannot be said that this exhausts all the differences which in recent years have begun to gush forth. Certainly they have gone furthest concerning treatment of the Critical Analysis, which stands verified at the highest political levels in the country, but first the rumor circulated quietly that it could not be the sole basis for discussion of the constitutional amendments (the demand was that proposals made during the public discussion should also be included), and in the end one heard even open speculation that certain forums (the Federal Conference of the SAWPY) had supposedly withheld explicit support of that document. There was also lively debate of this in a recent meeting (the first) of the Commission of the Assembly for Constitutional Affairs, in which a decision was taken to base the further discussion on both the Critical Analysis and also the results of the public discussion of it (a position which had been adopted previously by the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee). Also added were the Resolution of the 13th LCY Congress, the Positions of the LCY Central Committee on Relations in the Federation and on Unity and Community in SR Serbia and concerning the role of the workers in distribution of income, along with the Long-Range Economic Stabilization Program. But it will be difficult even for this rather "hefty" commitment to remove the disputes concerning the Critical Analysis. Practically since its adoption this document has been under the close scrutiny of loquacious and persistent critics who reproach it for having only provided a clear description of the features of crisis in society, without getting to its essential causes. After having responded to these objections on several occasions, Jonip Vrhovec recently spoke out with obvious severity concerning their proponents, who, he said, "have been intentionally ignoring the economic character of the crisis and have been putting in the defendant's box the political system and the 1974 Constitution." As carefully noted by NIN's feature writer M. Miovic, Vrhovec said that they still cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the Critical Analysis has achieved continuity of the commitment concerning the federal character of the Yugoslav Community and the socialist system of self-management contained in the LCY Program and the 1974 Constitution. This continuity must be "defended uncompromisingly, since this means not only defense, but also the further development of the essence of the revolution," he judged.

The argument about the predominantly economic causes of the present crisis, when everything is taken into account, is in fact the most realistic point of departure for examining the overall disturbances which have been shaking



Yugoslav society in recent years. But in a complete view of these disturbances it would be difficult to overlook certain poorly laid bricks in the political superstructure of society (it would seem that polycentric statism, which is the most visible portion of that poorly laid wall, is only a consequence, while the real causes lie much deeper). The activity of the so-called subjective forces in society has recently been spoken about along these lines with a more critical attitude (on this point we are publishing a separate view by Dr Zdravko Tomac, professor in the School of Political Science at Zagreb University). Along with the more or less standard assessments to the effect that the subjective forces operate too much outside the system instead of through it, assessments have also been made increasingly frequently to the effect that they have instituted themselves as a nonpublic and basically illegal system of decisionmaking (bypassing the regular bodies in which decisions are made in society), and certain theories have even been revived concerning establishment of a separate stratum of managers in society (a "political class"). But it is difficult to foresee whether this will also find its place in the initiative of the SFRY State Presidency, especially since stated in this manner it has no direct link to any of the points contained in the "Proposals, Opinions, and Suggestions" which the Federal Council for the Social System submitted to the Presidency.

Let us say in conclusion that the initiative of the SFRY State Presidency stands waiting in the context of an abundance of questions, which are still being posed more than they are being answered. The only thing that is certain is that Yugoslavia, once the constitutional changes are adopted, will probably no longer look the way it looked yesterday. But if the boundaries of the upcoming changes are governed by what most people expect from them, one more thing is certain: changes are being sought in the constitution, not changes of the constitution. Put otherwise, this means: we need new and more appropriate constitutional arrangements and above all more confidence and more understanding of the interests and concerns of others. Not a new and fifth constitution.

[Box, p 11]

#### Dr Zdravko Tomac, Professor: Making Decisions Through the System

The search for ways of emerging from the present crisis certainly also includes a search for new solutions in the constitutional system. Our point of departure here is the generally accepted assessment that we do have a development strategy, that it has been set forth in the basic principles and conception of the constitution. We also take as our point of departure the assessments which have been adopted to the effect that significant changes on the same foundations are needed in order to guarantee fuller realization of that strategy; in other words, that we do not need changes in strategy.

However, the discussion of the constitution and of the normative system as a whole cannot and must not be conducted outside an overall analysis of the political and economic system in practice. A determination needs to be made as to the extent to which the causes of the crisis are a consequence of the norms, and that bad norms, and to what extent they are the consequence of



retaining and reproducing a system of decisionmaking and of concentration of real power outside the legal institutions of the system. All the analyses show that we need above all changes that will make it possible and will guarantee that decisions are made within the institutions of the system, not outside them.

The way in which the organized subjective forces, above all the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, will operate has extremely great importance in this context. In his famous "Pravci razvoja" [Directions of Development] Edvard Kardelj asserted the need, and the League of Communists in fact adopted this as its strategy, for the League of Communists not to operate as a political force outside the system, as a parallel system in which specific decisions are made, but to operate as the leading ideological force through the delegate system, through the Socialist Alliance, wherever decisions are made. This is the most profound transformation of our system and the most important task. This is tantamount to overcoming state socialism, in which the party governs, and the constitutional institutions of the system provide the formal confirmation of the decisions of the party.

In this context, in view of the contradictions of our system and the need that will persist for a long time yet for the contradictions of society to be resolved by political means, it is not realistic to expect that in many situations the League of Communists will not continue to figure as a one-party system, that is, as a force that will make specific decisions of essential importance to carrying on the socialist revolution. However, the essential thing is to guarantee that in the process a method of operation develops that above all goes through the system and its institutions, and to guarantee that the methods and type of operation of the LC as the leading force outside the system are not broadened.

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## POWER OF DEFENSE, SELF-PROTECTION COMMITTEES DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 86 pp 9-13

[Article by Jelena Lovric and comment by Ivica Mastruko: "How To Recognize the Enemy"]

[Text] In a situation when the obsession with enemies is growing for good reason, but also for various other reasons, committees for ONO and DSZ [nationwide defense and social self-protection], whose dense network covers the entire territory of Yugoslavia, are transformed from protectors of the self-management system into the rule of small groups.

Do you know that there is no difference whatsoever between us and the enemy, we were told in jest at the Croatian LC Central Committee when we asked them for information on the activity of the Committee for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection. And they immediately explained: The enemy never sleeps, and we are always alert.

It is because we talk in cliches that this witticism is apt, but jesting aside, quite seriously, it does seem that at certain times and places it is in fact difficult to draw the line between "those who are always alert" and "those who never sleep," between friends and enemies. All past societies and systems, without exception, have racked their brains over that "thin red line," and they can be roughly divided on the basis of the positions which prevailed into those who adopted the philosophy of "whoever is not with us is against us" and those who were guided by the motto "Whoever is not against us is with us." There is also the possibility, of course, of combining these two positions, we might even say world outlooks, as well as the possibility of their alternation as a function of human and other circumstances.

Yet in our country the dominant conviction for a long time has been that a society defends itself best and most effectively from everything that threatens it in whatever form with the entirety of its relations and by virtue of its successful performance. However, since conditions have been changing, and society has turned out to be more and more in difficulties first of all, and then in crises, and now one might even speak openly about its failure in solving the problems it encountered or which it itself produced--so that some new strategies are being explored for defense against those who do not mean it well. The emphasis is being shifted more and more from critical evaluation of

the activity of "those who are always alert" (or are at least supposed to be) to the "raising of the head" and "odious scheming...of those who never sleep." Even though the present deployment of the "conscious" forces and those other forces does suggest it, it still would not be good for the enemy, his detection and frustration to become the principal concern or even obsession of society. But from certain examples which may be sporadic, but are quite illustrative, it does seem that some people have concluded that the time has come for a witch hunt.

In Belgrade's Palilula Opstina, for example, the chairman of house councils recently received a questionnaire with some very awkward questions. In addition to the part which had to do with fire prevention, which was supposedly the purpose for taking the survey in the first place, at least half of the questions were concerned with preventing a certain other kind of fire. The house council chairmen were called upon to report anyone in the building who is an enemy of the state, anyone who is visited by foreigners, anyone who is a drunkard, anyone who takes drugs, anyone who has a television set, a video recorder, a two-way radio, a mimeograph machine.... It turned out that this questionnaire for informers was drawn up by the Committee for Nationwide Defense and Self-Protection in the "Ivan Milutinovic" Local Community. But that was all the newsmen learned there, since they were told that everything else would have to be requested in writing. They also rejected the possibility of a face-to-face meeting with the president of the local community, explaining that that would require a written request, as would any other explanations, which could be obtained only if they were approved by this high and mighty committee! You might think we were dealing with the president of the republic!

#### Dealing With an Enemy

A still more recent and still more drastic example comes from the Sucidar Local Community in Split, where Blazenko Radovnikovic, chairman of the DSZ Committee, and Jovan Vujic, commander of the civil defense staff, signed a very interesting "Instruction for Procedure in Case of Hostile Demonstrations, the Singing of Ustasha, Chetnik, and Nationalistic Songs, and Other Similar Hostile Acts." The first article of that instruction, which we will be quoting at some length because there is so much to learn from it, states that when a citizen "notices, hears, or sees a group singing nationalistic or Ustasha (Chetnik) songs or undertaking other dangerous hostile acts he must urgently and unfailingly report to some activist of the local community. If he does not know anyone, then he is to report to the civil defense person or any member of his house council if it does not have a chairman." After a detailed description of who is to report offenders to whom and in what manner, the instruction goes on to say that "measures to be taken against offenders include the following: observation for the purpose of identification, recognizing and shadowing offenders, conversation, clear, public, and outspoken condemnation, and physical self-defense. Everyone knows that because of the sinister ideas they advocate and because they are so misguided, they are prepared even for physical attacks on innocent and peaceful citizens." Those who live in this local community are advised when going out at night "into the field" to carry a flashlight and "means of self-defense against physical attack," and those

"who have a permit to bear arms may carry a weapon at their own discretion and use it in case of self-defense."

Following this preparatory or initial phase, then comes the detailed instruction on the actual procedure of "dealing with an enemy." "Offenders should not in any case be passively observed from a great distance, but they should be decisively approached for purpose of identification, recognition, conversation, clear and loud condemnation, and if necessary even the use of physical force for the purpose of self-defense. One is not to go closer to them than arm's reach. Members of sociopolitical organizations, tenants and civil defense registrants, activists of the local community, members of the emergency team, and other citizens should for this purpose be assigned in advance to teams according to their inclinations and abilities: the identification team, the conversation team, the public condemnation team, and the team for physical self-defense....

"Elderly citizens, those in poor health, and the like would be members of the identification team. It is their task to observe the offenders most closely in order to memorize their features or to recognize them. Here it should be borne in mind that the description of an unknown person is very difficult to remember and should be written down as soon as possible, taking care that the offenders do not notice this note-taking. Then the description is to be turned over most urgently to some activist of the local community or professional staff service.

"The conversation team would consist of citizens who have firm knowledge concerning brotherhood and unity, socialist management and the policy of non-alignment, and those who can briefly and pithily put questions to the offenders, attempting at the same time to bring them to their senses and to pacify them, to get them to withdraw and separate themselves from the ranks of the offenders, and to subject themselves to the requirements of the law.... Members of this team should also try during the conversation to recall the faces of the offenders and their description. In the course of this they may be addressed by some name chosen at random in an attempt to obtain their right names, nicknames, and addresses.

"Citizens who have strong voices would be members of the team for public condemnation. They are to use shouts and to raise a hue and cry in condemnation of the hostile act, and they are to glorify Yugoslavia's brotherhood and unity and self-management in this manner: 'What is it you want!? Who are you?! Where do you live? Who is leading you astray?! Who is driving you mad!? Who is paying you?! Who is driving you to madness!? Down with those who sing Ustasha songs! Down with those who sing Chetnik songs! Down with troublemakers! Down with traitors! Get back on the track! Get back on the track of respect! Do not fall into the abyss of treason! You love your homeland! Long live brotherhood and unity! Long live self-management! Long live socialist youth! Long live Yugoslav youth! Long live Yugoslavia! Long live Tito's Yugoslavia! Long live the people of Yugoslavia!' Following slogans beginning 'Down with...' all members of the team for loud and public condemnation shall immediately at the end of the slogan shout in unison 'DOWN WITH THEM!' After slogans beginning 'Long live...' the members of this team and



others who have loud voices shall shout 'MAY THEY LIVE LONG!' in unison and at the top of their lungs.

"The team for physical self-defense consists of brave younger and stronger citizens who are to defend themselves and to defend other citizens and children from various outbursts. It is good for these teams to include young people and older citizens who know the marshal arts. The members of this team are not to be the first to attack. They are not to provoke a physical showdown. The members of this group shall most strictly avoid beating up people...."

Then the instruction enumerates "possible means of self-defense" such as rotten fruit and vegetables, whitewash, slops, garbage cans, mudballs, socks filled with those materials, screens, sticks, hods, fists, shields of various kinds, heavy ladles, cutting boards and butcher blocks, rubber nightsticks, heavy straps, umbrellas, high-heeled shoes.... The instruction ends with the provision that the team for physical defense use firearms if the offenders resort to them first, but in this case "they are not to shoot to kill, but to shoot them in the legs as low as possible so that the attackers are taken alive by law enforcement agencies."

#### The Emergency Team

Blazenko Radovnikovic, who signed the instruction, tells us that it is not very recent, that it was written after last year's Christmas singing in the streets of Split, which means that it is almost a year old. We asked him if there had been any reactions. He said: There was some protest in the opstina, since they mistakenly thought that we were imposing it as a model for the entire opstina, but they calmed down when they realized that this was only for our own internal use. Then we asked him whether they had already implemented the instruction. Radovnikovic said that they had not yet had occasion, nor had citizens been divided up into teams as yet, since "the response had been rather poor." But still in their local community there is the "emergency team" of some 20 members whose activity does not differ in principle from what the instruction promoted.

"This is a very clear example," says Dragutin Grdjan, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee and secretary of the Croatian Republic Committee for ONO and DSZ, "of how in spite of all the services and agencies that exist, one or more individuals may overstep their authority, taking up jobs for which there are specialized agencies, the police, for example, and indeed even attacking people's personal freedom."

Milan Horvat, a professional politician concerned with nationwide defense affairs in the Croatian LC Central Committee, says that he knows of no such example anywhere else although he has visited hundreds of local communities. He judges it to be a total political blunder; even an enemy, he says, would not have dreamed it up. But situations are possible when the young people slip away and the job falls to the older ones, those who perhaps ought not to take part in it because of their inclination to what we might call the methods of the military police.

The examples from Belgrade and Split are drastic. But these are not the only examples of overstepping authority by committees for nationwide defense and social self-protection. It has already been noted that they are the first to react when there are strikes, as though these were hostile acts. When the citizens in one settlement in Zagreb moved by force into their apartments, which had been finished for a long time, but which had been locked up for reasons of speculation, the Committee for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection was the first to react. In Knin the committee was the first to meet after the earthquake. There have been cases when committees for nationwide defense and social self-protection draw up lists of personnel as in the case of a factory in Sibenik where the managers and the workers were in conflict, or in Opatija, where the committee was deciding who could and who could not be a judge. In some places the "self-protection committeemen" have been putting personnel problems on their agenda. And there have even been examples when all of a sudden a ban on the serving of alcohol appears on the bulletin board in some workplace signed by the Committee for ONO and DSZ followed by an explanation that this is the only institution that still has any authority.

A bit more than a month ago Ivica Mastruko, a respected political figure and delegate in the Croatian Assembly, put a query on the work of committees for ONO and DSZ in a meeting of one of the chambers of the Assembly, since "recently we have witnessed their ever greater involvement and holding of meetings, which is being done at the level of work organizations, opstinas, and indeed higher. Continuation of this widespread, frequent, and unexemplary activity of the committees could seriously destroy some of the segments of the self-management system in certain elements."

Ivica Mastruko will soon be getting his answer. But quite a bit can be concluded even from the report on the period of the last 4 years drawn up for the 13th LCY Congress, which says that committees for ONO and DSZ "have affirmed themselves as an important factor in the organization and capability of our society for defense and self-protection," and that their principal weaknesses lay in "lack of initiative and continuity in their work, in taking over the authority of other agencies and bodies, and in a certain exclusiveness toward other participants in ONO and DSZ. Thus in certain places the committees have in any conflict situation or extraordinary event (work stoppage, fire, accident) acted instead of the agencies and organizations which are responsible and have bypassed the procedure set down in law and other regulations."

Committees for ONO and DSZ were formed by a decision of the 11th LCY Congress in all workplaces and communities (basic organizations, local communities, opstinas, and republics) as the sole bodies for direction, guidance, and coordination of nationwide defense and social self-protection. That was in the late seventies, when, as we usually say, conditions had matured to regulate in that way and indeed even in law the action to be taken in what is referred to as a crisis situation, that is, in the case of events brought about by the activity of an internal enemy, which the laws on national defense up to that time had not dealt with. This dense network covering the entire territory of Yugoslavia, still wrapped in a veil of secrecy, which can result in the type of respect that accompanies all confidential affairs of government "which are no joking matter," were under ordinary conditions--according to the conception--to

be made up of those who are "always alert," and they would be activated when the normal authorities were prevented from performance of their functions. However, some of the committees have begun to operate outside the provisions of law, and it seems that the law omitted to define altogether precisely the situation in which others have been prevented, and thus the committees, for which any liberalism is otherwise alien, have been interpreting this phrase very liberally. For example, the quarrel between a school and a highway carrier which resulted in the children who used the carrier not going to school for 3 days, which a committee judged to be sufficient reason to cut the matter short with the force of a directive. This kind of situation certainly has an impact on people's disposition, but if this logic is followed, the conclusion would very soon be reached that in the Yugoslav Assembly, say, action should be taken by "self-protective directives." After all, perhaps even the Assembly has been frustrated by the long time it has taken the republics and provinces to reach agreement, and it cannot be denied that this kind of drawn-out affair does have an impact on the good disposition of the masses of the people. The committee's advantage is that it can get together quickly, but if this logic is pursued further, the conclusion will soon be reached that a meeting is held most speedily by one person with himself and that that is the way in which decisions are made most speedily. The effective action of a committee when all others are ineffective or because others are inactive while the committees are more vigorous, only shows the extent to which activity through forums has become widespread in our country and that usually it is only the leadership that is acting on behalf of our sociopolitical organizations and sociopolitical communities. After all, the people on the committees are not different people, those elected to them are those who have held the most responsible positions in a particular workplace; one might almost say that they are the flower of the present leadership or an extract of the government. Colonel Vladimir Hlaic has written that in their "representativeness they contain all the accumulated experience and sociopolitical responsibility of every community and every workplace." Although one might agree with this observation only with reservations, especially when there is a rapid change in leadership personnel, the fact remains that at their regular jobs, in their workplaces and communities, these same people are not doing their jobs as they should when they must react as the Committee for Nationwide Defense and Social Self-Protection. And perhaps the logic of the "speediest shortest way" sometimes prevails because those who are the "representatives of continuity" in the committees, that is, those who have been in office longest, are precisely personnel from territorial defense, civil defense, public security, that is, those who are somehow in their habitat closer to the "military way of doing things."

Committees for ONO and DSZ are not some kind of alternative government, since they cannot be an alternative to a self-managed socialist society. If at certain times and places they sometimes degenerate from the protector of the self-management system in the rear and attempt to impose the will or rule of a small handful of people, if the organization which in a case of "breakdown of the system" is supposed to help to set it back up, now begins to be used in



all politically colored situations, wherever a spark flies, then it has to be plainly stated that the original intentions and provisions of the law have been betrayed thereby. Their suspension of self-management on the logic of "better that someone reacts, does something, and makes a decision instead of no one" and various scenarios of self-help in the face of enemies which, at least from the examples that we have given, are just as sinister in their methods and ultimate consequences as those they are directed against—lead in only one direction. That is why the reactions have in fact been so fierce to the deformations that have been occurring in the work of the committees. Perhaps their mistakes have in fact been sporadic, but they are very dangerous, they give a thrust, they present a possibility, they appear to be promoting an altogether different system in this society. Those who are obsessed with the idea of an enemy are perhaps suited by this kind of "expanded" activity of the committees for ONO and DSZ. But, as we were told in the Croatian LC Central Committee, unless self-management is developed, the committees and their self-protective function may be turned into a stick in the hands of a small group of people. Both in local communities and also at higher levels as well.

[Box, pp 10-12]

[Interview with Ivica Mastruko] The Road Toward the Firm Hand

[Question] What led you to put a query in the Croatian Assembly about the activity of committees for nationwide defense and social self-protection?

[Answer] The increasingly frequent mention of committees for ONO and DSZ in newspaper reports varies from occasion to occasion. Every one of us can read how even in the most harmless strikes or even disciplinary offenses, and then when certain excessive behavior takes place in work organizations, in stadiums, or in cities, the Committee for ONO and DSZ in that jurisdiction (in the OOUR, the opština, or the republic) holds a meeting and makes decisions, adopts conclusions and positions which are irrevocable, final, full of legal judgments and political truth. All other bodies of self-management and political bodies and organizations are placed by the decisions of these committees in the position of operatives (not to say executors) of the resolutions of this "command staff for extraordinary situations." All of this has resulted in what amounts to suspension of bodies of self-management (workers' councils, assemblies, disciplinary commissions) in one segment of our society, and has thereby brought about elements of an extraordinary situation. Since I was not convinced that there were any real reasons for anything of that kind, I resorted to the form of the delegate query to call attention to a practice that is becoming ever more widely accepted.

[Question] Why were these committees established? After all, weren't those that existed sufficient?

[Answer] I do not have figures on the number of cases in which committees for nationwide defense were activated nor figures on the nature of the events in which they acted. I can only judge by the cases recorded in our daily press, and most of them are such that they could have been resolved without intervention of committees for ONO and DSZ. As far as I know, these committees arose



out of a need to reestablish the bodies of self-management and the agencies of government in situations and cases when the functioning of the fundamental bodies and structures of the self-management system was in jeopardy because of some set of circumstances. Later these bodies were also given certain other quite precise legal powers. But it seems that these committees, which are supposed to be a guarantee of the normal functioning of the self-management system, are beginning to take over all the functions of that system.

[Question] It is thought by some that the committees have more and more been "taking power" because others are not acting, but it is also said that the nonaction of the others is being used only as an alibi to justify their activity.

[Answer] If these committees take over certain functions because the bodies of self-management and other agencies in the present situation, which is still not an extraordinary situation, are not acting, then it is precisely the members of the committees for ONO and DSZ who are responsible for that inaction. After all, the people in the committee are the most responsible leaders of the LC, the bodies of self-management (councils and assemblies), the SAWP, the trade unions, enterprise directors, presidents and chairmen, secretaries for internal affairs.... It is these leaders who must take responsibility for the work of the bodies, agencies, and organizations they head, rather than pass on the responsibility and jurisdiction of those bodies, agencies, and organizations to the Committee for ONO and DSZ, of which they are only members. Or perhaps this is a case of the most commonplace opportunism, since it is easier to use the authority of a body with a resounding "army-police" title, which arouses a particular respect from workers and citizens and carries the association with "special and extraordinary circumstances."

[Question] In the situation when everyone is making mistakes, when deformations are occurring almost everywhere—it is nothing unusual for the committees to make mistakes. Those who are "well-informed" say that they after all do it least often.

[Answer] By that logic we would soon arrive at the position that we would have the fewest mistakes if decisions were entrusted to just one man, since the smaller the number of participants in making and carrying out decisions, positions, and conclusions, the less possibility there is of error. The line of least resistance is leading us toward "use of legal powers" to suspend self-management, and that is the shortest and most direct one-way road toward the point of departure for the firm hand. We know who has an interest in building that kind of road. Those who are spreading fear are sowing seeds that give rise to the firm hand of a "socialism" in which self-management is not inherent.

[Question] What is the danger of deformations occurring in the work of the committees for ONO and DSZ?

[Answer] Conflicts, controversies, and even deformations are not abnormal social phenomena, since there is no society without conflict. A society without conflict inevitably reminds us of military cemeteries—everything there is

uniform, closely trimmed, peaceful, and mournful. Actually it is a question of how conflicts are resolved in society, of ways of overcoming and resolving them. We have committed ourselves, have we not, to a self-managed society, to self-management as a movement and method, and indeed to self-management as an institution. However difficult the times may be, they still are not such that we can just renounce that endeavor of ours, and somehow I still feel that it is not always a case of excessive sensitivity, fright, and anxiety, but of a "quiet longing" for certain other possible systems.

[Question] Why are we so sensitive when self-management is usurped by committees for ONO and DSZ, while we have already become hardened to the other cases of usurpation of self-management?

[Answer] It is understandable that we should be more sensitive to a possible usurpation of self-management, as you put it, by committees for ONO and DSZ than to certain other cases of usurpation of that same self-management, which is simply because that kind of possible usurpation of self-management would be covered with legitimate legal authority, while those other cases of usurpation are unlawful, illegitimate, and we can combat them, we can actively oppose them. But when self-management is suspended by law, then we are cut off, frustrated, and disarmed.

[Question] It is thought by some that the committees are turning into a parallel system of government.

[Answer] I am still far from thinking that the committees are turning into a parallel system of government. I do not believe that this will occur, probably because I would not want that. But I do not preclude the possibility that there are people with such intentions. But this self-management system still has the strength to combat and overcome such tendencies. I know that this people and this League of Communists will not renounce self-management, not even by turning it over to the sole jurisdiction of committees for ONO and DSZ. Yet I am interested in whether the competent authorities of the republic are concerned with those who have consented in practice to "sign the capitulation" of self-management.

[Question] In a time of ever greater preoccupation with enemies--regardless of whether it is justified or not--do the committees for ONO and DSZ sometimes turn into assault detachments which themselves will decide who is an enemy and who a friend?

[Answer] I am not fond of ideas or ideologies which can survive and vegetate only thanks to police protection. Perhaps I will be a bit freer than I should if I say that I have the feeling that this party of ours--which is an emotional expression for the League of Communists--has been seized by naked and groundless fear and because of its obsession with the stabilization (which signifies stagnation), it has lost the charge of revolutionary spirit and has become frightened even of its own hold on the system, is frightened of revolutionizing relations in society. I think it is not a question of any sort of enemy taking power in this society. It is a question of the working class having to take power authentically and in practice, and to wield it. That is

the essential problem. As for identification of enemies and ideological opponents--this is done in all systems by the political and government leadership, bodies, agencies, and committees. Nor are we any exception in this. But we can be distinctive if we are consistent Marxists and humanists and if our bodies of leadership show political wisdom and a sense of justice and humanity.

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